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THE MAIN ACTORS

PRIME MINISTER RAJIV GANDHI

LTTE LEADER V. PRABAKARAN

'The confrontation continues with brutal indifference to the deaths and destruction it entails. . . The torment of the Tamils continues unabated'.

PRESIDENT JAYAWARDENE

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TAMIL TORMENT CONTINUES

THE initial hope and expectation that the Indo-Sri Lanka accord signed between Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and President Jayawardene would bring an end to the years of trials and tribulations of the Tamil people of Sri Lanka have been belied by subsequent developments. The confrontation between the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) which began on October 10 continues with appalling consequences.

The Tamil people, particularly those living in the Jaffna peninsula have been subjected to unprecedented hardship. People in their thousands have been compelled to evacuate their homes and live in temples, churches and school buildings with hardly any sanitary facilities. Thousands have been cramped in buildings which were never designed or meant for human habitation. Reliable estimates indicate a death toll among civilians to be in the region of over one thousand. The ages of the victims range from the newly born to 85 years. Most of them have fallen victims of shooting, shelling and aerial attacks. The tragic tale of the brutal murder of Dr. Narendran's family (see page6), the scores of deaths within the premises of the Jaffna General Hospital (see page 5) and the manner in which Professor Chandrasekeram came by his tragic end (see page 3) are only illustrative of the many such excesses to which the Tamil people have been subjected.

With the complete breakdown of transport and communication accompanied by a dawn to dusk curfew lasting several days, there is a desperate shortage of food and medical supplies. Normal civlian life has come to a grinding halt. The whole population has been marooned in a sea of unendurable suffering. Many houses and public buildings have been destroyed and Jaffna is in ruins. Recent reports indicate that the confrontation has also spread to the eastern province, where too, people are facing similar hardship. And it continues with brutal indifference to the death and destruction that it entails.

Although the Indian government is seeking to play down the casualties suffered by the IPKF, it is estimated that over 600 soldiers have died and twice that number have been injured in this confrontation. It may be that they became sitting ducks to the LTTE snipers and easy prey to their landmines in unfamilier territory. It may also be that they never anticipated, and therefore were totally unprepared for this development, and hence unexpectedly suffered high casualties in a confrontation which was forced upon them by events. It is probable that the IPKF did not expect the LTTE to confront them with such grim determination and resolve, and when the orders were given by their government they hoped to forcibly break or bend the LTTE to surrender their weapons within 72 hours. Once they found the task impossible and began to suffer many casualties, the IPKF behaved just like any other army — to attack indiscriminately. The human rights implications of this tragic situation are too obvious to demand detailed consideration. To say that the IPKF, which was welcomed upon their arrival, has today alientated the people to whom it ostensibly came to provide security is to understate the obvious.

How long can the Tamil people go on suffering in this way? The LTTE, as the most dominant Tamil militant group has a special responsibility to mitigate the suffering of the people. In the present context a mature reflection is called for on the part of the LTTE. It may be that the LTTE will succeed in resisting the IPKF from totally subjugating it militarily. The question is, can the Tamil people endure this continuing war of attrition and for how long?

With the handover by the LTTE of 18 captured Indian soldiers on 19 November and the 48 hour ceasefire which came to effect on 21 November, one would have expected that the parties to the conflict would realise the immense hardships faced by the people and work out a formula to continue the ceasefire with a view to bringing an end to the confrontation. The deputy leader of the LTTE, G Mahendrarajah (Mahataya) had in a letter dated 21 November indicated such a possibility and promised not to 'use arms, even after the expiry of 48 hours, except to defend ourselves in case of any offensive by the IPKF' and stated that 'the major issue is about the rights and security of our people and if these are ensured, handing over of arms is not a problem'.

However, hostilities broke out again and the torment of the Tamils continues unabated. It must be realised that, however dedicated it may be, the LTTE cannot for ever hope to continue to take on the Indian army with any hope of ultimate success. At the same time, it also should be obvious to India and Sri Lanka that no lasting solution is possible without the LTTE being a constituent partner in any settlement.

It is not difficult to see that a permanent state of armed hostility among the Tamil militant groups is counter productive and hostile to the general interests of the Tamil community. And as the most dominant militant group, the LTTE has a major responsibility to promote and seek a truce with other militant groups with a view to avoiding internecine warfare and to enable them also to enter the mainstream of political life. As for the other militant groups or their breakaway sections, they cannot ever hope to be trusted by the people by playing the role of a fifth column in their midst, and they should give up the idea of settling old scores and seek to end their armed hostility with the LTTE.

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FIGHTING RESUMES AFTER 48 HOUR CEASEFIRE

THE confrontation between the Indian Peace Keeping Force and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam resumed at the end of the unilateral 48 hour ceasefire announced by India and which came into effect at 7am. on 21 November. New Delhi said that the ceasefire was being offered in consequence of requests made on behalf of the LTTE and to enable it to surrender their weapons to the IPKF

The ceasefire announcement was in fact made following the handover of 18 Indian soldiers of the IPKF who had been previously captured by the LTTE and held prisoner. The handover took place on 19 November at Chavakachcheri in the presences of 15 Indian journalists who were specially flown from Madras to witness the handover. The captured men were released in two batches into the custody of the IPKF by Tiger leaders, Mahathaya and Shankar.

In welcoming the announcement of the ceasefire, the deputy leader of the LTTE, G.Mahendrarajah (Mahathaya), in a letter dated 21 November said that not only they would reciprocate, but also would not use the arms even after the expiry of the 48 hour period, except to defend themselves in case of any offensive action by the IPKF. He added that the major issue was about the rights and the security of their people and if these were assured, handing over the arms was not a major problem. He specifically referred to the terms set out in his previous letter dated 14 November, which were:

- **On declaration of ceasefire by the IPKF, the LTTE will immediately lay down arms**
- **The IPKF should move back to its position prior to October 10, 1987, and patrolling and search operations should be stopped.**
- **The functioning of hospitals, food supplies and transport should be handed over to the civilian authorities.**
- **The LTTE is prepared for resupmtion of negotiations immediately.**
- **Amnesty to be invited and the ban on the LTTE lifted. The Rs.1million prize on Pirabhakaran's head to be cancelled.**
- **LTTE members to be allowed to live a normal life in dignity, and rights of the Tamil people to be restored.**
- **The LTTE looks to India for a solution of the problems of the Tamils.**
- **Establishment of a Tamil police force for the northern and eastern provinces.**
- **The LTTE is not against the accord as long as it safeguards the rights and interests of the Tamil-speaking people.**

India rejected these LTTE terms describing them as 'unacceptable'. With no prospect of a truce, the confrontation has resumed and spread to the eastern province too. While the LTTE claims that very few of their cadre have been killed or captured, Tamil civilians are no doubt paying the price with their lives.

Reports indicate that casualities in the ranks of the IPKF are heavy and mounting. The Indian Defence Minister, K.C. Pant, told the Indian Parliament on 26 November that the IPKF had suffered 1200 casualities, 262 dead, 927 wounded and 15 missing. Independent sources report that even as of 26 November, the death toll among the IPKF was in the region of 600. Since then, there have been daily reports in the Sri Lankan press of Indian casualties. For instance, on 26 November 4 soldiers and an officer were killed in clashes at Uduvil and Neerveli in Jaffna; on 27 November 7 IPKF men were killed and 5 wounded at Mullaitivu and on the same day in a clash with the LTTE at Nedunkerney 9 IPKF men were killed and three went missing; at Valaichenai in the east, on 2 December 12 IPKF soldiers were killed and seven injured.

After the rejection of the LTTE's terms, the IPKF 'offered full safety and security to those armed cadres who reported with their weapons or other equipment to nearest IPKF post'. The package offered by the IPKF to the surrendering cadres included full security against threat to their lives to those wishing to stay under the IPKF's protection till normalcy returns, free food and shelter, a monthly stipened, general or vocational training to prepare the cadres for eventual employment, books and educational facilities for those wishing to resume their education and facilities for placement for those not interested in self-emplpoyment.

In dismissing the Indian offer to LTTE cadres of 'personal economic incentives for surrendering arms', the LTTE declared that the offer showed 'India's lack of undertsanding that our struggle is the historical product of intolerable national oppression, that it is an extension, continuation and advancement of the political struggle of our oppressed people. . . On several fronts of the world today a revolutionary war is being fought, a war between two historically antagonistic forces, the oppressed and the oppressor. Our liberation struggle as an oppressed nation is an integral part of this international war, a war of the revolutionaries against the reactionary forces of oppression, the forces of imperialism, neo-colonialism, zionism and racism. Though each liberation struggle has its own historical specificity and its unique conditions, in their essence they articulate a universal historical aspiration of human kind to free from all systems of oppression and exploitation. This aspiration cannot be met by offer of food, clothing, pay and other benefits to our cadres'.

INDIA REJECTS LTTE TERMS

Appreciation Professor P. Chandrasekeram

THE Faculty of Education of the University of Jaffna has been orphaned by the untimely and tragic death of Mr Chandrasekeram. It is understood that he was hit by a shell as a result of which his legs were completely severed from the body. He was alone at his residence at the time of his death. The manner and the circumstances of his death should be a rude reminder to every Sri Lankan that we should settle our problems amongst ourselves and not to look up to others to sort out our problems.

It is a real tragedy that such a charming and noble personality should have met with his end in such circumstances. Mr. Chandrasekeram had a wide circle of friends one of whom was our mutual friend the late Mr. V. Dharmalingam Ex-MP for Manipay who too met with a tragic end two years back. Their friendship was deep seated.

Did this man deserve to die in this manner? That is the point to which every right thinking person should address his/her mind to. If they think deep and learn the futility of this discord, then Chandrasekeram and many others of his ilk have not paid the supreme sacrifice in vain.

My heart goes out with every member of his family in their hour of grief.

They should seek solace and comfort in the fact that Mr. Chandrasekram had made an everlasting contribution in his field of study and his death is mourned through out the length and breadth of this country.

Courtesy: 'The Island' 3-12-87.

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PARLIAMENT APPROVES P.C. BILL & CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

THE thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution and the Provincial Council Bill were passed by the Sri Lankan parliament on 12 November. These two legislative measures provided for devolution of legislative and executive powers through Provincial councils which are to be semi-autonomous. The amendment to the Constitution made Tamil also an Offical Language while making English as a link language. Sinhala was already an official language.

The debate in parliament on the two legislative proposals commenced on 11 November amidst unprecendented security arrangements in and around Colombo, as the opponents of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement, in pursuance to which these two measures were being submitted for parliamentary approval, had vowed to create violence and chaos. The Deshapremi Janatha Viyaparaya (Patriotic Peoples Movement), a front for the proscribed Janatha Vinukthi Peramuna (JVP — Peoples Liberation Front), had already unleashed violent incidents as soon as the government had announced its intentions and put up posters threatening dire consequences against MPs who voted for the proposals.

All government MPs were provided with maximum security and president Jayawardene did not spare any effort to ensure that his MPs attended parliament. Days before the debate commenced, all the government MPs were booked in a five star Colombo hotel, Oberoi. On 10, 11 and 12 November a convoy of tourist coaches escorted by heavily armed troops in trucks and jeeps drove rapidly through the four mile stretch from the hotel to the parliamentary complex. This scenario was enacted each day at 8 in the morining and then on the return journey at 5 in the afternoon.

Despite the well publicised intitial opposition by Prime Minister Premadasa and the Minister of national Security, Lalith Athulathmudali, to the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement and the government's proposals, the eventual voting confirmed the confident prediction of president Jayawardene when almost all government MPs voted en-block in support.

The amendment to the constitution and the Provincial Council Bill had earlier been challenged before the Supreme Court on the ground that they were ultra vires the Constitution and that both the measures required the people's approval at a referendum. The nine-bench Supreme Court had held by the narrowest of margins, 5 to 4 that both the proposals were not inconsistent with the Constitution. One of the 5 judges however, held that two clauses in the proposed 13th amendement should be altered to avoid the necessity of a referendum. Four judges had held that the entirety of both the proposals amounted to converting the entrenched unitary character of the Constitution into a federal one, and therefore needed approval at a referendum.

Following the three day debate, when the amendment to the Constitution was put to the vote, 9 Mps belonging to the opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the lone Mahajana Eksath Peramuna MP, Dinesh Gunawardene and the well known anti-Tamil MP who had already been expelled from the ruling United National Party (in all 11 MPs) voted against. 136 of the government party MPs and the opposition Communist Party MP, D.E.W. Gunesekera voted in support. Two government MPs, M.Y. Abeywardene (MP for Hakmana) and C. Wijegunawardene (MP for Kamburupitiya) abstained. However, these two MPs voted in support later during its third reading.

When the voting on the Provincial Council came, the SLFP and MEP MPs staged a walkout and consequently it was passed without opposition, 138 MPs voting in support.

The two government party MPs who abstained during the vote on the second reading of the 13th amendement were subsequently expelled by the party, and hence have lost their seats in Parliament.

OVER 50 KILLED IN BOMB EXPLOSION

AT least fifty people were instantly killed and over one hundred injured when a bomb planted in a car exploded in the centre of Maradana in Sri Lanka's capital Colombo on 9 November. The bomb went off during the evening rush hour traffic.

Ten school children in their very early teens were among the victims. Several bodies rushed to the Colombo general hospital were burned beyond recognition.

The bomb would appear to have gone off not at the intended target. The bombers 'obviously had a more definite target, and the bomb exploded prematurely. It was perhaps more powerful than the explosion in the Pettah which killed 113 persons and injured nearly 300 in April this year, said police sources. The reverberations of the explosions were heard several miles away.

The bomb went off opposite the Maradana police station and the entrance to Zahira College. The damage to vehicles on the road was more severe and there was one vehicle which had totally disintegrated suggesting that it may have been the vehicle in which the bomb was planted. Sixteen vehicles which included a state owned CTB long distance bus were among the severely damaged.

Blame?

Intially the Sri Lankan broadcasting network blamed the explosion on the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna, a proscribed Sinhalese political party. However, as days went by, the government and the papers blamed the LTTE as having caused it. But the LTTE has denied responsibility.

RECORD BUDGET DEFICIT

A SPECIAL World Bank mission has assessed that Sri Lanka needs 320 million US dollars from its aid donors in grants and concessionary loans to rebuild its war-ravaged economy over the next three years. The mission recommends that the donors make a one-time committment so that the reconstruction plans for the three years 'can be developed and firmed up'.

The report titled 'Sri Lanka: Reconstruction and Rehabilitation programme' states that preliminary discussions with donors indicate that the required $320 million can be entirely financed through grants and concessionary loans.

Although donor nations had earlier accepted in principle to come to Sri Lanka's assistance in the reconstruction of the economy after four years of ethnic conflict, some of the western countries are concerned about the resurgence of violence and the absence of peace and normalcy.

The World Bank report states that the infrastructure damage resulting from the ethnic war amounts to $700 million, although this does not take into account the damage caused in the north and east after October 10 when the confrontation between the Indian Peace Keeping Force and the Tamil Tigers started.

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'PEOPLE FACE STARVATION AND SLOW DEATH'

CITIZENS COMMITTEE TELLS INDIAN PM

THE following is the text of an appeal dated 9 November sent by the Co-ordinating Committees of the Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka to the Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, concerning the privations to which the Tamil people are subjected and the excesses committed by the Indian Peace Keeping Force:

'This hour of extreme peril and imminent extermination of the Tamil people of Sri Lanka has come as the inevitable consequence to the military operation of the Indian Peace Keeping Force against LTTE. We wish to place before you the following facts for your kind consideration and immediate action.

'Your Excellency would have been appraised of the indefinite curfew imposed throughout the Jaffna peninsula from the 10th of last month by the Indian Peace Keeping force. This operation against LTTE has brought to a standstill all economic activities of the Tamil people of Jaffna and the entire population faces complete starvation and slow death.

'All transport have been paralysed cutting off supply lines of food commodities from Colombo and other places and distribution of existing stock of food, There is neither electricity nor lighting fuel. No exchange and flow of money owing to the closure of all banks and all sections of the people are deprived of their monthly income and daily wages.

'The continued artillery shelling intermittant, aerial bombing and helicopter straffing have driven the whole population from thier homes abandoning all their possessions. There is chaos and confusion among the entire population and they are in the depth of fear and apprehension, worst of all the people have no place or facilities to take even the gravely wounded for treatment, as all hospitals remain closed.

'The Jaffna government Hospital which has been catering day and night for all urgent cases from all parts of the Jaffna peninsula remaining dominantly under the IPKF control and there is no access what so ever to this provincial Hospital to the needy patients.

'The Jaffna Hospital came under heavy fire from the IPKF on the Deepawali Day ie. 24th October. It is with great regret and grave concern that we are forced to bring to your kind notice that on the attack made by the Peace Keeping Force 3 Doctors, the Matron of the Hospital, 3 Senior Nurses, 2 Overseers, the Ambulance Driver, the Telephone Operator, the Lift Operator, the Storekeeper and 11 minor employees and about 100 patients and their relations were shot dead.

'Following this attack all the Supervising Medical Officers and all other staff have kept away from work out of fear. The whole hospital administration has collapsed and the hospital remains inaccessible to the public. All the Doctors and staff of the hospital will give evidence if an impartial inquiry is held. The names of the hospital staff killed are as follows:

MEDICAL OFFICERS
Dr. A. Sivapathasundaram (Paediatrician)
Mr. M.J. Ganesharatnam.
Dr. Parimalalagar.

MATRON
Mrs. Vadivelu.

NURSES
Mrs. Leelawathy.
Miss. R. Ramanathan.
Miss. Sivapackiam.

ABULANCE DRIVER.
Mr. V. Shanmugalingam

TELEPHONE OPERATOR
Mr. Kanagalingam.

OVERSEERS
Mr. K. Krishnarajah.
Mr. K. Selvarajah.

MINOR EMPLOYEES
Mr. R. Sugumar.
Mr. Sivaloganathan.
Mr. Marutharajah.
Mr. John Peter.
Mr. Markandu.
Mr. Thurairajah.
Mr. Sivarajah.
Mr. Jeganathan.
Mr. K. Vetharaniam.
Mr. Ratnarajah.
Mr. Ratnasingham.

'The above are some of the grave hardships mercilessly imposed on an innocent peace loving people who have been looking forward to your Excellency's help for deliverance from the atrocities and gruesome killings by Sri Lankan armed forces. The entire population of Jaffna has reached that last minute of their power of endurance and we have lost all recourse if your Excellency does not come to our rescue immediately.

'We therefore appeal to your Excellecny to your sense of even justice, to your concern for the preservation of Human Rights and your unfailing faith in the peaceful solution of all problems, to order an immediate ceasefire and employ more peaceful and suitable political measures to enforce the acceptance of the Peace Accord by the LTTE and the surrendering their arms.'

ATTACK ON LAKE HOUSE NEWSPAPERS

THERE appears to be a well organised violent campaign to disrupt the distribution of newspapers and magazines published by the government owned Associated Newspapers Ltd, also popularly known as the Lake House. These attacks commenced after the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreeemt, preseumably by sections of the proscribed JVP which is carrying on a violent campaign against the accord.

Raising the matter in parliament on 27 November, Mr. A. Jayatilleke, District Minister of Gampha and MP for Akmeemana, said that it was not possible to sell Lake House nespapers beyond the southern coastal city of Galle; transport vans belonging to the lake House were being attacked and efforts had been made to set vehicles on fire. Now these attacks were spreading even to other areas closes to Colombo.

Newspaper agents had been threatened with death if they sold Lake House newspapers from December 1. The families of these agents also had been threatened. The Sinhala daily, 'Divina' published by the Upali Group and which is campaigning against the Indo-Sri Lanka accord reported with aparent glee that the campaign to boycott the lake House papers seemed to be successful, the District Minister said.

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A CASE OF THE INNOCENT BEING GUNNED DOWN

THE tragedy that struck one family which lived in Navatkuli in Jaffna, Sri Lanka, is typical of the fate of many families and individuals during the last few weeks when the confrontation between the Indian Peace Keeping Force and the Liberation Tigers broke out on 11 October.

On the morning of 16 October, Mrs. F.A. Rajasingham, aged 65, heard the sound of gunshots near the gate of her house and went near the porch to see what was happening. On appearing at the porch, she was shot at and fell down dead. Her son, Mr. R. Manoharan, aged 38, on hearing the shot being fired into the house, went up to the verandah and peeped through the metal grill.

On seeing him, army personnel presumed to be of the IPKF ordered Manoharan to step out. As he came out begging that he be not shot, he was gunned down without any questions being asked. Mr. Rasiah, aged 64, who was working in the garden came out through the side gate with a boy aged 10 (this boy had become a member of the household having been adopted as such).

Rasiah fell down as a volley of shots was fired at him, and the boy also fell on Rasiah's dead body. The army personnel, having assumed that all were dead, left the scene of the crime. Unfortunately for the assailants, the boy did not receive a direct hit and survived to tell the tale of this tragedy. The boy, who spoke and understood Tamil, Sinhalese and English, has described the gunmen as men in military uniform speaking a 'strange language' which he could not understand.

Dr. R. Narendran, eldest son of the victim, Mrs. Rajasingham, having received a report of the tragedy on 18 October flew to Colombo on the following day from Saudi Arabia where he was employed as an Associate Professor at the King Faisal University.

Undergoing severe hardship in the course of travel, he reached the Sri Lankan army camp at Kilinochchi at 8.30 pm on 22 November and sought help. Major D.R.P. Uyangoda of this camp contacted the Sri Lankan army contingent at Navatkuli and requested them to proceed to Mrs. Rajasingham's house in order to confirm the deaths.

About 1.30 pm a message was received that three bodies in an advanced state of decomposition were lying under the porch of the house and that there were several casings lying in the compound of the house between the gate and the porch. The presence of another body lying in the adjoining house and the stench from decomposing bodies from other houses were also reported.

Major Uyangoda made arrangements to fly Dr. Narendran by helicopter to Navatkuli. He reached the Sri Lankan army camp at about 3.30 pm on 23 November from where accompanied by Second Lt Ranjith Perera and four Sri Lankan soldiers, he went to the IPKF camp where Brigadier Dhillon and his staff expressed their sympathies and denied any involvement in the incident.

With an armed IPKF escort led by Major I.P. Singh, Dr Narendran and the Sri Lankan soldiers went to Mrs. Rajasinham's house. Three bodies were found under the porch in a highly decomposed state and the stench was unbearable.

The skeletal parts of the bodies were exposed in many places as crows and other animals had eaten away the flesh. The bodies were identified as those of Mrs. Rajasinham, Mr Manoharan and Mr Rasiah. (Dr. Narendran has given a detailed account of the state of the bodies in his report).

An inspection of the house revealed that it had been ransacked and all valuables including electrical items removed.

The bodies were moved away individually using bedsheets for support and cremated using old tyers and dried branches of trees and palmyra and coconut leaves doused with diesel provided by the Sri Lankan soldiers.

That night Dr. Narendran and his companion Mr Rajadurai stayed at the Sri Lankan army camp at Navatkuli. The following day, they went back to the house to clean up the place. The entire area from the house to the IPKF camp was found deserted. Houses were open but not a living soul was seen.

A document prepared by Dr. Narendran attesting to these three deaths, their identification and subsequent cremation was witnessed by Mr. Rajadurai, Lt. Ranjith Perera and two Sri Lankan soldiers.

Dr. Narendran has praised and paid tribute to the Senior officers and soldiers of the Sri Lankan forces for the enormous support and assistance given him at a time of great personal tragedy.

TEXT OF LETTER SENT BY DR. R. NARENDRAN TO THE INDIAN PRIME MINISTER

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

This letter is addressed to you in your dual role as Prime Minister of India and a son whose mother was murdered by unifromed assassins.

Despite your privileged position, I am sure you too would have suffered and are probably yet suffering from the trauma of your mother's death.

Love and affection for our near and dear ones, especially parents and children is something that is common to all mankind and which is developed at birth and felt throughout life.

I am writing this letter as a son and a brother, whose mother and younger brother were callously murdered by the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) on the 16th October 1987 at Navatkuli, Jaffna.

When I arrived they were being eaten by dogs and crows. Their remains would have yet been outside their home had not the Sri Lankan army and air force helped me to get to the spot on the seventh day and cremate the remains.

My mother was sixty-five years old and has given birth to seven children and reared them through years of hardship and personal deprivation. We children are what we are today largely on account of the sacrifices made by her. There are very few mothers anywhere today who could have suffered more than she did to bring up her seven children as decent human beings.

I built the house in Navatkuli, Jaffna, five years back for her to live in comfort. The house was a token of the gratitude I felt for what she had done for us.

The IPKF has made this very same house her grave! My borther, who was 38 years old, was a leading citizen of Jaffna and married five years and had two children aged two and a half and a year respectively.

He had foregone several opportunities to leave Sri Lanka in order to be near our mother. My brother has paid the ultimate penalty for having loved his mother and concern for her welfare. How can his young widow and two small children be consoled now? This is a tragedy that will not be forgotten for generations to come.

The fact that both these lives were ended without any rational reason and in a brutal manner and their bodies not accorded the respect due to even hapless beggars on the streets, is absolutely unpardonable.

The fact that they were shot point blank at close range without any questions being asked, under the portico of their house, speaks volumes for the brutality and utter disregard for human life displayed by the Indian army.

The right to life, inherent in all the convenants on human rights talked about today, has been brazenly violated in this instance. How an army representing what is in reality a Hindu India (Mahatma Ghandhi's India!) could sink to such low depths is beyond my comprehension.

Why has human life become so cheap?

Ironically, the very same Sri Lankan armed forces we Tamils had hitherto

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CLERGY APPEALS TO INDIAN P.M.

'STOP THIS CARNAGE'

THE following is the text of an appeal sent to the Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, by Rev. Fr. S.A. Michaelsamy, OMI, on behalf of the Jaffna Diocease:

With all the effective means of communications available to the common man completely cut-off, thousands of defenceless, innocent Tamil civilians of Jaffna have been the unfortunate victims of the most indiscriminate shellings, helicopter-straffing and aerial bombardment by the IPKF and the Sri Lankan security forces, and of the other atrocities committed by those Forces on land and sea, in homes, hospitals and refugee camps. As the cries and mournings of those suffering people have been summarily stifled and silenced, I, on behalf of the Catholic Clergy of Jaffna who have been moved by the desperate cries of those people, write to you to appraise you of the inhuman treatment meted out to us.

The saddest spectacle is the most wanton destruction of life and property of the innocent civilians, the countless number of the injured and the dying in the homes, hospitals and refugee camps, and the decomposed bodies of those killed found on the streets and lanes. The most heart-rending experience is not the greatest inconvenience caused to the civilians by the indefinite and continuous curfew imposed for more than fourteen days without any relaxation, but more so the pitiable plight of our people reduced to near starvation, moving about now during the short period of relaxation of the curfew in search of food. The prohibition of the use of any vehicles, even of bicycles, to transport essential supplies from stores have aggravated the problem of finding food. Contrary to the propaganda made by the mass-media of communications, no meaningful steps have yet been taken to alleviate the sufferings caused by the deliberate cut-off of electricity, drinking water, fuel, transport and all other forms of communications within and outside the city of Jaffna.

The All-India Radio reports that Jaffna is now a free city. The actual fact is that Jaffna is now a **besieged** city. It is a city freed of citizens from their own homes. It is a city freed of all essential amenities of life like food, fuel, electricity, drinking water, transport and medical facilities. It is a city freed of all freedoms — freedom of movement, freedom of living in one's own home, freedom of speech and expression, freedom of the Press and of communications. Jaffna is now a walled-city with people living within the confines of the four walls of temples, churches and schools used as refugee camps. Never before have our people experienced such untold hardships and been deprived of all freedoms.

The All-India Radio in its news broadcasts have been reporting twisted and falsified versions of the happenings in Jaffna. To us who have seen, heard, touched and experienced the events of the past three weeks, the AIR corresdpondent's reports, regarding certain events in Jaffna are a deception. That a great nation like India, the land of the great spiritual leaders and sages, could act thus to achieve its aims is most incomprehensible to us. The transfer of guilt on other parties and heaping of accusations on them cannot in any way absolve one from one's own guilt. Truth will triumph one day.

Besides other events, we are particularly disturbed and distressed at what happened at the Jaffna Teaching Hospital on 21st and 22nd October. The take-over of the Jaffna teaching Hospital by the IPKF and the subsequent massacre of over 80 patients along with three doctors and 17 nurses and minor staff in the hospital, have been shrouded by the ugly veil of secrecy for eight days when all outsiders were debarred entry to the hospital and those within were forbidden to move out. We earnestly request you to hold an impartial inquiry and let the world know the truth. We are enclosing herewith copies of three accounts obtained: one from a doctor, another from a minor staff and the third from a patient, all of them present in the hospital at the time of the brutal massacre.

We are also giving you in the annexure some particulars of the dead and the injured, obtained from their relations staying in just **one** of the many refugee camps in the Jaffna city. Due to the curfew in force we were unable to collect relevant particulars from other camps. As there has been a full-scale military operation in all parts of Jaffna, these figures of the dead and the wounded should without any exaggeration, be multiplied by as many refugee camps as are in the city, thus swelling the number to thousands. There is not a single road, or a street or a lane that does not have at least two or more houses destroyed or damaged by shelling. Most of the houses have been broken open, searched and at times plundered. The IPKF have pitched camps on every road and street, even forcibly occupying private houses, thus instilling fear and anxiety among the civilian population.

Reports are now pouring in that military operations by the IPKF are taking place on a still larger scale all over the Jaffna peninsula and beyond. Under the guise of flushing out the LTTE cadre, hundreds of innocent defenceless Tamil civilians are being killed and injured every day. We earnestly appeal to you to use your authority to stop this brutal carnage and alleviate the mental agony and physical sufferings of our people, by taking effective steps to bring about a cease-fire and initiate negotiations to end this conflict and misery.

We pray for God's merciful guidance.

Yours faithfully,
Very Rev. Fr. S.A. Michaelsamy, O,M,I, Administrator, Jaffna Diocease.

Bishop's House, P.O. Box 8 Jaffna, Sri Lanka. 2nd November 1987

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considered our enemies showed their Buddhist cultural heritage — compassion and brotherhood — when the Indian forces that had entered Sri Lanka as the defenders of the Tamils had turned into their very killers.

I will be eternally grateful for the compassionate manner in which the Sri Lankan forces came to my assistance when it was most needed. What I have seen in my own house and the neighbourhood is proof enough of the murderous intent of the Indian army and the immoral manner in which it has carried out its crusade against the L.T.T.E. in Jaffna.

No amount of press censorship and propaganda could put a lid on the facts for long and the trauma of what has transpired cannot be erased from the collective memory of the Tamils, by your free food and medicine. . .

My mother and brother had survived four years of near civil war and had continued to live in the same house despite its proximity to the Sri Lankan army camp. However, they had to die a death even stray dogs do not deserve, at the hands of the Indian forces that had come to ensure their safety.

What makes the whole episode all the more nauseating is the fact that these murders were carried out apparently to enable the Indian soldiers to loot the house of its valuables!! The missing stereo system and colour television testify to this.

The house had been ransacked for money and jewels and my inability to find any money in the house during my visit attests to this fact. The location of the house in a sparsely populated area, the appearance of the house and the age and social background of the inmates would have indicated to anyone with even a modicum of intelligence that my mother and brother did not constitute a threat to the IPKF. The murders had in fact been committed two days after the IPKF had assured them their safety!!

I can comprehend the finality of death and the impossibilty of bringing the dead alive by even the Prime Minister of India. However, I hope this letter will serve the purpose of preventing any more wanton deaths of innocent Tamils, at the hands of the IPKF.

R. Narendran, Ph.D., Associate Professor and, an unconsolable son and brother.
College of Agriculture, King Faisal University, Saudi Arabia.

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NO EASY OPTION

By D.C. Ambalavanar

IT is now six weeks since the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) began their offensive in Jaffna. Six weeks during which the Tamils of Sri Lanka, and especially those in Jaffna, have undergone a level of suffering unparallelled in their long annals.

Six agonising weeks during which they realised that the bitterness of the last four traumatic years seemed just a gentle prelude to the newer and far greater horrors that they were experiencing. And it goes on. Sri Lanka and more especially the Tamil people have experienced their fair share of tragedies and ironies but surely this is the supreme tragic irony.

That the IPKF, welcomed as saviours and friends, would so drastically metamorphose into a machine of wanton killing and destruction aimed at the very people they came to help.

No doubt lengthy analyses will be made of causes and preceipitating factors to this most avoidable and unnecessary tragedy. Fingers of accusation will be pointed apportioning blame. At this moment in time no party seem guiltless. Having said that it also seem obvious that both the Indian and Sri Lankan governments played on the political naivety and inexperience of the LTTE, boxing them in knowning fully well that a cornered Tiger is dangerous.

If the intent all along had been the neutralisation of the LTTE then of course the train of events that was set in motion does not seem surprising.

What has surprised all and sundry has been the totally inept manner in which the Indian government went about the task both diplomatically and militarily. The public pronouncements of the Indiam military have revealed more than a degree of naivety in their assessment of the capacity for resistance of the LTTE. But over and above this, what has shocked most is the brutality which the IPKF unleashed on the hapless civilian population.

One would never have thought it possible, but the IPKF has achieved the near impossible, i.e. made the Sri Lankan armed forces come out smelling of roses!

The reports of killings and destruction are never ending — eyewitness accounts of crows and dogs feasting on unburied corpses whole families being wiped out etc. The litany of woes is endless and no end is in sight. Most galling of all this is that the world hardly knows of this or, if it does, has turned a deaf ear. Close to three thousands civilians are dead, many thousands wounded, half the peninsula's population refugees, many hospitals damaged and non-functioning and unnumerable houses and buildings destroyed — a shattering summary indeed!

So where do we go from here? What chances are there for our people? There are obviously no easy options. Few choices exist and will be hard for all parties involved to take but is there any other way out?

President Jayawardene would probably consider this recent tragedy the high point of all his Machiavellian strategies — his last and glorious achievement. The Indians and Tamils are at loggerheads while he sits pretty, protected from the JVP by the very same Indians. He now obviously feels that concessions to the Tamils could be withdrawn, colonisation continue and the whole Pandora's box be opened once again. He has to be disabused of all such notions and quickly so. Only the Indian government can do it.

Response

What of the Indian government? They may never regain the total trust and affection of the Tamil people for what they have done but that certainly should not stop them from trying to make amends. Some of the statements emanating from South Block in Delhi have been more that of a bully asking his oponent to prostrate himself than of a responsible regional power seeking to achieve peace and justice. Whether they like it or not the Indian government must accept that the LTTE is part of the equation for peace. To disregard them is to prolong an unnecessary and bloody conflict. Of course a lot depends on what India's original intentions were. If it was just to extend her regional hegemony then they are only creating a situation for themselves all too reminiscent of Vietnam and Afghanistan. If the Indian government wants to regain the confidence of the Tamil people they will have to rein in their ill-disciplined forces and sit down to unconditional talks instead of just issuing meaningless statements from new Delhi. They should also disarm the groups of Tamil bandits whom they rearmed and who are now looting and robbing from the already suffering populace.

The LTTE has been admired for their bravery and single-minded resolve to achieve the best for their people. Their courage and military skill was never more evident than when they resisted a force far superior to theirs and one belonging to the fourth largest army in the world. But alas, courage and military skill alone are not enough. They have to acquire political and diplomatic skill, at least to counter the machination of the crafty old man in Colombo. It was one thing to battle the Sri Lankan forces, when Indian assistance could be relied on, but quite another to continue to take on the Indian forces. It is a no win situation. The LTTE also has to be sensitive to the sufferings of their people. A prolonged war would mean a mounting toll of civilian deaths and suffering — a price that cannot be paid for an uncertain goal. There are many armchair theorists, who being well away from the scene of conflict, would say that the LTTE having set out to achieve Eelam should not now stop, which is nonsense. The Tamil people are now pawns in a geopolitical game and that is a reality that has to be faced.

For the LTTE, it now requires a different kind of courage. The courage to say 'enough' and to enter into negotiations unconditionally. They have a duty and responsibility to their people which they must fulfill as before and this can only be done by re-entering the political scene to ensure that the Accord is fully, honestly and sincerely implemented to the letter. If they do that they will retain the affection and gratitude of their people.

No magic solutions exist. For our people the road to normalcy, peace, and justice seems yet a long hard one. There is no choice. It has to be travelled.

THE CASUALTIES OF 'WAR' IN JAFFNA

BETWEEN 10th and 16th, October, 1987.

THE DEAD:
SHELLING

1. Regno Marias Margris Gomez (26), Puthumaimatha Kovilady, Gurunagar, Jaffna. 2. Thambirasa Manivannan (29), 151, Navalar Rd, Jaffna. 3. Arumugam Thambiraga (57), Uchiodai, North, Manipay. 4. Suntharampillai Sivaguru (60), Ward No.1, Allaipiddy. 5. Muthuthamby Arunothayam (04), 16/2, Kailasapillaiyar Kovil Veethy, Nallur. 6. Muthuthamby Rajitha (07), 16/2, Kailasapillaiyar Kovil Veethy, Nallur. 7. Velan Kasipillia (63), 17, 4th Lane, Arasady Veethy, Nallur. 8. Ratnasingam Sathiaama (14), 4th Lane, Arasady Veethy, Nallur. 9. Sinnathamby Jegatheswaran (29), Earlalai West, Earlalai. 10. Sinnathamby Pathmawathy (27), Earlalai West, Earlalai. 11. Sathasivampillai Vimaladevy (28), No. 392, Navalar Rd, Jaffna. 12. S. Sinniah (45), No. 392, Navalar Rd, Jaffna. 13. Edwin Camils (19), 15, Columbuthurai Rd, Jaffna. 14. Nagappan Pasupathy (85), No. 392, Navalar Rd, Jaffna. 15. Pasupathy Yoganandan (30), No. 392, Navalar Rd, Jaffna. 16. Yoganandan Pavani (29), No. 392, Navalar Rd, jafna. 17. Thillaiyampalam Kathirkamadas (37), No.392, Navalar Rd, Jaffna. 18. Maheswarakumar (18), No.392, Navalar Rd, Jaffna. 19. Selvamalar (52), No.392, Navalar Rd, Jaffna. 20. Selliah Kamalam (62), 187/1, Manipay Rd, Jaffna. 21. Selvarajah Selvarupan (01), Kandasamy Kovil Lane, Kopay North. 22. Pedrupillai Thambirasa (51), 23, Rajendra Rd, Jaffna. 23. David Thayan (14), 51, Beach Road, Jaffna. 24. Ambalavanar

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Kandiah (83), Vairavar Koil Lane, Koddady, Jaffna. 25. Ponnampalam Thuthuthamby (45), Ward No.2, Pungudutivu. 26. Balasundaram Krishnaveny (36), Sinnakandu Lane, Ariyalai. 27. Thangarasa Kanagammah (34), Ponnambalam Lane, Ariyalai. 28. Thangarasa Jeyarani (12), Ponnambalam Lane, Ariyalai. 29. Ashokkumar Ajantha (08), Ponnambalam Lane, Ariyalai. 30. Kppalapillai Kethiswaran (22), 24, Ponnambalam Lane, Ariyalai. 31. Kumaraiah Kamaladas (26), Ward No.2, Nainativu. 32. Volauthampillai Shanmugalingam (40), Nagerkoil Rd, Eluthumadduval. 33. Annalingam Thangeswary (?), 628/7, K.K.S. Road, Natchimar Koilady, Jaffna. 34. Tharmbu Subramaniam (60), Mallakam, Min Lane. 35. Subramaniam Thangammah (50), Mallakam, Min Lane. 36. P. Ahila (15), Mallakam, Min Lane. 37. Kesavan Kopalakrishnan (42), Prambady Lane, Kokkuvil. 38. Kopalarkrishnan Sukumar (15), Prambady Lane, Kokkuvil. 39. Jeyaseelan Kreston (10(, Irupalai; 40. Yoganathan Kandimathy (31), Urelu East. 41. Aseervathan Varutharasa (28), St. Joseph's Church, Kopay. 42. Anandarasa Anushiya (14). Kopay North. 43. Thirunavukarasu Rajmohan (27), Pungudutivu.

SHOOTING

1. Sellathurai Satgunam (55), Kokkan Veethy, Inuvil East, 2. T. Inparasa (25), (Campus Student), Kopay. 3. Ramanathan Prabakaran (22) (Campus Student) Prambady Road, Kokuvil. 4. Kathiravelpillai Manoharan (06), Prambady Road Kokuvil. 5. Thedchanamoorthy Thavarasalingam (45), Prambady Road, Kokuvil. 6. Thavarasalingham Kanagambikai (42), Prambady Road, Kokuvil. 7. Thavarasalingham Tharshini (01), Prambady Road, Kokuvil. 8. Nagalingham Jeevaratnam (25), Kokuvil East. 9. Thamotharampillai Suseela (33), Station Road, Kokuvil. 10. Ponnambalam Muthuthamby (45), Ward No2, Pungudutivu. 11. Ilayavi Pasupathi (52), Tellipalai East. 12. Gunaratnam Gunachandran (20), Ward No.8, Nainativu. 13. Swaminather Thambiaiah (56), Palaly South. 14. M.M. Millis Gilta (48), 6, Ice Pland Road, Gurunagar. 15. Emilin Wervin (18), 6, Ice Plant Road, Gurunagar. 16. Benedict Theresamma (52), 6, Ice Plant, Gurunagar. 17. Ligouri Stence (15), 6, Ice Plant, Gurunagar. 18. Rathinam Muthulingam (44), Muthamil Veethy, Koddady. 19. Kandiah Krishnar (27), 21/2, Amman Road, Kandarmadam. 20. Navaratnam Shanthi (17), Urumpirai North. 21. Kanapathipillai Kumarasamy (45), Alady, Uduvil. 22. Pavilupillai Navaratnam (45), 80, Main Street, Jaffna.

All the above bodies were brought to the Govt. Hospital Jaffna.

From: Eelanadu National Thamil daily, 18-10-1987.

INJURED BY SHELLING

1. Thavagnanam (50), 22, Patrick's Rd, Jaffna. 2. Thavagnanam Jeyaseeli (20), 22, Patrick's Rd, Jaffna. 3. Thavagnanam Chitra (17), 22, Patrick's Rd, Jaffna. 4. Thavagnanam Jesika (23), 22, Patrick's Rd, Jaffna. 5. Thavagnanam Philomena (43), 22, Patrick's Rd, Jaffna. 6. Emmanual Boby (15), 32, Mount Carmel Rd, Gurunagar. 7. A. Sebastian (23), Mount Carmel Rd, Gurunagar. 8. Aloysius Rogallnia, 16/1, Mount Carmel Rd, Gurunagar. 9. Robin (10), 9/10, Mount Carmel Rd, Gurunagar. 10. K. Boniface, 23, Mount Carmel Rd, Gurunagar. 11. K. Kulenthiran (?), 23, Mount Carmel Rd, Gurunagar. 12. Antony Roch, 25, Mount Carmel Rd, Gurunagar. 13. Antony Nixon, 25, Mount Carmel Rd, Gurunagar. 14. Antony Johnson, 25, Mount Carmel Rd, Gurunagar. 15. Antony Ranil 25, Mount Carmel Rd, Gurunagar. 16. Antony Robinson (?), 25, Mount Carmel Rd, Gurunagar. 17. Rupasingam Puspam Chrispin, 49, Patrick's Rd Jaffna. 18. Velliammah (21), 16/6, Patrick's Rd, Jaffna. 19. M. William Yogam (41), 16/6, Patrick's Rd, Jaffna. 20. S. Benedict Mariannah (55), 19, Patrick's Rd, Jaffna. 21. Daniel Cyril (50), 13, Patrick's Rd, Jaffna. 22. T. Atputhamary (01), 55, David Rd, Jaffna. 23. Mariyagam Gilbert (01), 42, David Rd, Jaffna. 24. Anantham Lucas (01), 39/1, Bench Rd, Jaffna. 25. Jesuthasan (12), 83, Bench Rd, Jaffna. 26. S. Jesurasa (42), 26, Bench Rd, Jaffna. 27. Alphonso Arulmathy (13), 16, Bench Rd, Jaffna. 28. T. Jeyarsa (49), 63, Bench Rd, Jaffna. 29. T. Thawan Judo (12), 83, Bench Rd, Jaffna. 30. Joseph Bala Pathmanathan 124, Old Park Rd, Jaffna. 31. Joseph Bala Thangammah, 124, Old Park Rd, Jaffna. 32. Machado Kumuthini, 34, Old Park Rd, Jaffna. 33. Sinnapu, 29, Old Park Rd, Jaffna. 34. S.J. Sabanayanayagam, 100, Old Park Rd, Jaffna. 35, S Daisy 37. S. Thevarasa, 51/1, Old Park Rd, Jaffna. 38. Thevarasa Patricia, 51/1, Old Park Rd, Jaffna. 39. Saminatham Anantham, 16/2, Adapau Lane, Gurunagar. 40. Saminatham Vijijini, 16/2, Adapan Lane, Gurunagar. 41. Saminatham Jogan, 16/2, Adapan Lane Gurunagar. 42. P. Vadivel, 11/5, Matthews Rd, Jaffna. 43. A. Sutharsan, 32/10, Press Lane, Jaffna. 44. Anthonipillai Rita,, 74/1, Crusault Rd, Jaffna. 45. S. Thevadaso, 74/2, Crusault Rd, Jaffna. 46. J Arulappu (50), 37, Park Rd, Gurunagar. 47. S. Siluvaithasan (12), 11, Park Rd, Gurunagar. 48. Pushpa (33), 44/1, New Flats, Gurunagar. 49. Jeyanthan (10), 44/1, New Flats, Gurunagar. 50. Jeyathas (13), 44/1, New Flats, Gurunagar. 51. Antonisu (11), 44/1, New Flats, Gurunagar. 52. Sinnkunchu (07), 44/1, New Flats, Gurunagar. 53. Arulnayagi (02), 44/1, New Flats, Gurunagar. 54, Kunaratnam Sakunthala (43), D20, New Flats, Gurunagar. 56. P.Jacintha Jacinthax (50), 16, Ice Plant Rd, Gurunagar. 57. P Ruba (32), 16, Ice Plant Rd, Hurunagar. 58. A. Assuntha Mary Joseph (33), 26, St. James St, Gurunagar. 59. J. Cyril (38), 23/5, Water Tank Rd, Gurunagar. 60. Sivalingam Sivarasa (22), 89/1, Main St, Jaffna. 61. S. Yogarajah (21), 100, Customs Rd, Gurunagar. 62. Manuel Anton (23), No.5, 1st Cross St, Gurunagar. 63. S. Salesius (45), 55, Odakarui Rd, Gurunagar. 64. T. Semalai Cinthia (53), 32, Water Tank Rd, Gurunagar. 65. Antony Navajothy (18), 62, Kondady Rd, Gurunagar. 66. Rajadurai Puspam (33), 10, Central West St, Gurunagar. 67. Yogarajah Anushia (?), ark Lane, Uduvil. 68. Bastiampillai Viyajanth, 645, Beach Rd, Jaffna. 69. George Ponniah , Hospital Rd, Jaffna. 70. Mas. P. George, Hospital Rd, Jaffna.

TULF ON PROVINCIAL COUNCIL LAW

THE Tamil United Liberation Front has, in a press statement dated 14 November expressed serious reservations concerning the Provincial Councils Law and the 13th Amendment to the Constitution recently passed by the Sri Lankan parliament. The TULF statement said:

The Sri Lanka Parliament has adopted the 13th Amendment to the Constitution and the Provincial Councils Bill without making any changes to rectify the deficiencies in these 2 Bills detalied by the T.U.L.F. in their letter of 28th October to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

The Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement stipulated in para 2.15 that 'residual matters shall be resolved between India and Sri Lanka'. The two bills which have now been adopted by Parliament are not the result of any such resolution, between India and Sri Lanka. Since the two Bills were tabled in Parliament without such resolution. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi at his meeting with President Jayawardene at Katumandu and New Delhi, raised these deficiences, in the 2 Bills. Nevertheless, the Bills have been passed in Parliament without curing such deficiencies. Parliament has deleted the clauses requiring a referendum for the amendment of the constitutional provisions relating to Provincial Councils and for Parliament to legislate on subjects in the Provincial Councils List, in keeping with the majority verdict of the Supreme Court. This provision for a Referendum was indeed no safeguard against arbitrary legislation in Sri Lanka with a 74 per cent Sinhala majority. This deletion does not in any way improve the position of the Tamils. While making such deletions, the additional safeguards suggested by the T.U.L.F. and the Government of India were not incorporated.

The speech of Prime Minister Premadasa in Parliament has confirmed our worst fears particularly in regard to the formation of one Administrative unit for the Northern and Eastern provinces as now constituted. This statement together with the unsatisfactory provisions in the Bills adopted raises grave doubts in our minds that the Sri Lankan Government will not honour this important part of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. Tamil concerns regarding the totally unsatisfactory provisions in the Bills pertaining to vitally important matters such as Legislative Power, Executive Power, Emergency Provisions, Lists of Subjects, State Land, the Provincial Public Service and the Trincomalee Port raised by the Government of India with President Jayawardene, have not been compiled with.

The T.U.L.F. emphatically asserts that there can be no durable political solution and consequently no permanent peace unless satisfactory provisions to meet these aspirations of the Tamil people are incorporated in the constitution. Therefore, the T.U.L.F. regrets that we cannot commend these two laws to the Tamil people as being just, satisfactory and durable. While we are conscious of the efforts of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and the Government of India, the T.U.L.F. on behalf of the long suffering Tamnil people appeals to India to ensure that the Tamils will have a scheme of Autonomy in a single Province comparable to State Governments of India.

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LETTERS

THE MAIN reason for the Indian intervention, according to Indian government sources, is to stop the killing of innocent Tamil civlians by the Sri Lankan forces and also to prevent the aerial bombardment of civilian areas. Their role was to operate as a Peace Keeping Force.

Even before the first phase of the Accord could be implemented, something went wrong somewhere and the IPKF was drawn into direct confrontation with the LTTE — The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. In order to rout a 2000 strong Liberation Tigers, 20,000 Indian soldiers were brought in and in the ensuing battle the Indian forces caused more civilian casualities and damage to civilian properties than what the Lankan forces did to the Tamils in their entire four-year period.

Here are some excerpts from a telegram sent by the National Council of Churches to Indian and Sri Lankan ambassadors:

1) Aerial strikes by the IPKF is a chief cause of the indiscriminate civilian casualities. 2) Private and government hospitals have been shelled by the IPKF and forced to close. Doctors, nurses, and patients have been killed by IPKF. Civilians without medical care. 3) Mass murders and rapes by IPKF have occurred in the northern and eastern provinces. 4) 400,000 people have been made homeless during monsoon season.

When India which preaches peace and nonviolence and poses as a leading member of the nonaligned nations behaves in this inhuman way towards a helpless minority and unashamedly flouts all international norms of warforce, what can we expect of other countries? I am only reminded of a French writer who said:

L'homme est un animal — Man is an animal.

Federation of Tamil Associations of America, Bayonne, USA.

Yal N. Alagan
Executive Secretary

I CANNOT understand why your former Editor found it difficult to answer the simple question put to him in the Bandung programme recently broadcast over Channel 4: 'Do the Tamil Tigers represent the bulk of the Tamil people?'

The answer should have been a categorical 'Yes', because the LTTE is the only group that has fought the Sri Lankan army on behalf of the Tamils and has the confidence of the Tamil people. The other so-called militant groups can be regarded as insignificant and have no role to play. They should disband themselves or be disbanded forcibly.

Quebeck, Canada.

S.S. Maniam

MR. RAJIV GANDHI is about to defeat the 'Tamil Tigers' in an undeclared war and notch another win for India. Full marks to him for this achievement. Credit is also due to the Sri Lankan President, Mr. Junius Jayawardene for lending his territory and his air force and making the victory possible.

This is not the first time India has fought outside its shores. There have been several invasions of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) by the Tamil Kings of Chola and Pandiya dynasties of the 'Far South'.

The farthest India has gone was during the reign of the Chola Emperor Rajendra I, when he sent a naval fleet in circa 1100A.D. to defeat the Sailendra King of Java and plant the 'Tiger' eblem in Java.

Rajendra ruled for forty-nine years and effected extensive conquests including that of Ceylon. The Sivan Temples of Polonnaruwa and the famous Dravidian Bronzes of the Colombo Museum testify to the greatness of Cholian art. The bronze castings have become world famous that an arnate chamber has been built in the Colombo Museum for these great finds of antiquity.

Stone inscriptions of that period also testify to the fact that Rajendra was responsible for introducing the Sinhala script.

It may be of interest to your readers to know that Rajendra carried out a survey of his dominions in A.D. 1086, the year of the survey for the Anglo-Norman Domesday Book ordered by William the Conqueror.

Manila

Wilbur Smith

I AM rather puzzled at the antics of some expatriate Tamils. Before the peace accord between Rajiv Gandhi and Jayawardene, there used to be demonstrations and pickets by some Tamils outside the Sri Lankan and Indian Embassies. The slogans and demands in front of the SL embassy were to condemn the state sponsored genocide of Tamils in Sri Lanka. Appealing to 'Mother India' for her intervention to save the Tamils used to be slogans outside the Indian embassy.

However, there have been no demonstrations outside the Sri Lanka embassy in the recent past. But many have been held outside the Indian embassy protesting against the 'genocide of Tamils' by Indian troops and demanding their withdrawal.

Besides the fact that these insignificant demonstrations had no effect on the situation back in Sri Lanka, the antics of the demonstrators reveal more of their lamentable emotional instability than political foresight and commitment.

Glasgow, Scotland.

R.R. Indran

TAMIL TIMES should reflect the attitudes and values of different sections of Eelam Tamils critically without fear of alienation from only one standpoint, the liberation of Tamils so that they will be able to meet the challenges of the 21st century. Customs, practices, traditions, culture etc. which obstruct progress should be discarded.

In a way, the history of the Tamil people since the 1950s compares with that of the Jews prior to 1950. They would have to return to Tamil Nadu or Tamil Eelam, and expatriate Tamils will have to be reminded about this fact.

Perhaps the clarion call, not based on chauvinism but hard economic terms, to the prodigal sons have to come through your columns.

It must be said that the politics and programmes of the 'elders' were a failure which only led the Tamils to ruin, except that they rekindled Tamil nationalism and fired the imagination of the youth. The basic demands of Thimphu must not be compromised conceding only temporary deals necessary for immediate survival.

West Yorkshire

S. Raghunathan

10TH ANNIVERSARY OF DEATH

The late R.D. Sivaguru J.P.U.M, Attorney at Law, Crown Proctor, Ex President Rural Courts, Ex Chairman, Town Council, Chavakachcheri, Sri Lanka died on 17-12-1977 leaving behind his only brother Thirumany, (Malaysia); wife Pearl, (Chavakachcheri); daughters Indra Shantini and Sharmini; son Balendran (Colombo); Yogendran (Australia), Mahenthiran (Singapore), daughter Ranji (Canada), 12 grand-children, sons and daughters-in-law, nephews and nieces (Malaysia)

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Over 40 dead as Delhi and Tigers take the war east

From John Rettie in Colombo and agencies

THE focus of the war between the Tamil Tigers and the Indian army has shifted decisively to eastern Sri Lanka following the death of about 40 people in the fiercest clash for several weeks.

Civlians bore the brunt of the violence, with more than half the victims from the village of Ottamawadi, near the east coast town of Valachenai in the Batticaloa district.

The trouble erupted when two platoons of the Indian peace-keeping force were returning from a road-clearing operation — mainly clearing landmines. They were trapped in a Tiger ambush while crossing a bridge over a narrow lagoon inland from Valachenai.

Nine Indian soldiers, including the major commanding one of the platoons, died when the Tigers fired mortars, rocket-propelled grenades and small arms from Ottamawadi.

The Indians returned the fire, and some of their mortars hit the flimsy houses in the village killing civilians as well as Tigers. The Indians say 24 civilians died, including a woman and two children, as well as between five to 10 Tigers. More than 20 were wounded.

Sri Lankan officials said that soon after the ambush, the remaining men in the Indian convoy burned a mosque and 50 houses in the village and looted 75 other shops and houses. 'The Indians went to town after the soldiers died.' one official said.

Seventeen bodies, including five women and three children, were found in the mosque. The Indian soldiers later returned to the village and burned a second mosque, removed all women and children from houses and burned more buildings, the officials said.

Four more bodies were recovered and about 100 residents were injured, they said.

Massacre

Sri Lankan military officials have also confirmed reports that Indian forces, following the Tigers' ambush, halted a bus from Colombo in the Batticaloa district, ordered all 15 passengers off and shot them. Eleven of the passengers died, while two were wounded and two escaped.

A 36-hour curfew has been imposed on the district, and the Indian commander for the Eastern Province, General R.P. Singh, visited Valachenai from his headquarters in Trincomalee.

The ambush came in a largely Muslim area, and more than 600 Muslims families have fled the area. The incidents have brought angry protests from Muslim leaders in Colombo, and were raised by the Opposition in Parliament.

But the Indians say the Tigers were to blame, by deliberately launching their attack from the heart of Ottamawadi village, knowning that Indian fire would be directed at their positions.

(Courtesy: 'The Guardian', 4-12-87)

POLICE SUPERINTENDENT GUNNED DOWN

THE Head of Sri Lanka's Counter Subversion Unit, Terrence Perera, a senior Superintendent of Police, was shot dead on the morning of 2 December at the busy road junction in Battaramulla, six miles from Colombo, while on his way to attend a high level Security Conference.

Mr. Perera, aged 47, a winner gallantry award, had been shot at close range with a machine gun or automatic rifle and wounded on his chest and hand. He was rushed to the hospital imediately after the attack, but on arrival he was found dead.

The gunman is reported to have speeded off in a motor cycle immediately following the attack on Mr. Perera. Armed policemen on duty in close proximity to the scene of the shooting had rushed to the spot on hearing gun shots being fired. They found the victim with his head slumped on the steering wheel of the car he was driving. People waiting for buses near the junction ran helter skelter in panic on hearing the sound of gun shots.

Mr. Perera had left home in his car at about 7.45 in the morning without his driver or bodyguards. It would seem that the gunman had been waiting in ambush knowning Mr. Perera's routine. Police sources believe that more than one person was involved in the shooting and conspiracy to murder the SP.

HEAVY TOLL OF IPKF CASUALTIES

INDIA'S 20,000-man military forces in Sri Lanka will resume its ofensive against Tamil guerrillas following the end of a 48-hour ceasefire yesterday. An Indian spokesman said the unilaterally-declared ceasefire, which ended at 7a.m. would not be extended and that 'whatever process was on before the ceasefire will resume.'

A leader of the main guerrilla group, the Tamil Tigers, said the insurgents would not attack the Indians despite the ending of the ceasefire. Tiger guerrillas would only open fire in self-defence.

India has concealed the number of fatalities suffered by its troops in fighting against the Tamil rebels — more than 600 men for the deaths of about 75 guerrillas, Sri Lankan military officials say.

The Times of India yesterday quoted Indian Defence Ministry sources as saying that in nearly six weeks of fighting, close to 500 Indian troops have been killed, about twice the offical figure of 260. The Times said a team of senior officers had been sent to Sri Lanka to investigate the heavy toll.

But two senior Sri Lankan army officers — one who oversees combat and the other with military intelligence — reported that more than 600 Indian troops have died and 1,500 have been wounded in the offensive against the Tigers.

Fatalities

They estimated at least 1,000 civilian fatalities and agreed with Tiger claims that indian troops have killed about 75 rebels, adding that most of the organisation's more than 2,500 fighters are still in the field in the Tamil-dominated north and east. Public statements by the Indian government say that its forces have killed nearly 900 militants.

INDEPENDENT — 24 Nov 1987

India urged to arrange tripartite talks

MADRAS, Dec. 6.

THE Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS) has appealed to the Indian Government to arrange tripartite talks with the Sri Lankan Government and the Tamil militant organisation to bring about a peaceful solution to the present problem in the island.

In a statement issued here today the EROS said it would not be possible to enlist the support of the Sri Lankan Tamils for the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement unless the Indian Government avoided harsh steps, including military operations. It should adopt a political and diplomatic attitude.

The statement said the IPKF actions in the North and East Sri Lanka have resulted in the death of several Tamil civilians. The EROS appealed to the other Sri Lankan Tamil organisations to sink their differences and unite to protect the interests of the Tamils.

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MILITARY OFFENSIVE: MORE CHAOS THAN IT WAS AIMED TO SETTLE

ON 10 October 1987, the Indian 'Peace Keeping Force' launched a massive military offensive against Tamil militants in Jaffna which has resulted in heavy civilian casualties. I have no intention of defending the actions of the militants or of attempting to justify what they done or are doing. However I cannot accept any action by any group, be they militant, government or 'peace keeping', which results in the death of unarmed innocent civilians. I find it even more unacceptable where such action is embarked upon with international Red Cross, the press and independent observers excluded from the area. It is irresponsible, unjustifiable and completely indefensible.

This report, published because of the urgency of the situation, has been written at a time when there is an extensive press censorship and a total ban on foreign reporters and independent observers entering the Tamil areas. When the facts are unknown, fiction, prejudice and imagination take over. These are problems of the governments' (Sri Lankan, and now Indian) own making. In this report I have tried wherever possible, not to accept information put out by the combatants but to reply on reports of foreign journalists who have, with incredible courage, slipped past the Indian blockade into Jaffna.

The Indian objective

The Indian military offensive was supposedly to disarm the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the dominant separatist group which is not satisfied with the 29 July Indo-Sri Lankan peace accord between prime Minister Gandhi and President Jayawardene.

Was it justifiable or unjustifiable?

India, or more accurately, Ravij Gandhi, by the terms of the so-called 'Peace Accord' undertook to disarm the Tamil militants. Whether this could be done by military force is arguable. The history of guerilla conflicts across the world has shown that if armed militants are to be disarmed and absorbed into the main stream of civilian life, the problems which originally led to militants taking up arms must be addressed and satisfactorily resolved. Military force by governments will not produce such results. Be that as it may, the Indian 'Peace Keeping' Force (IPKF) was instructed, rightly or wrongly, to use its fire power to disarm (or crush) the resisting Tamil militants.

At a more fundamental (and pragmatic) level, we must ask what the Indian government and its military are doing in Sri Lanka. They are there to return the area to 'peace and normalcy'. The question is whether a military offensive launched on an area densely populated with civilians would result in more chaos than it was aimed to settle. However pressing national geo-political gains or the prestige of armies may be, the certain chaos that would be created by a possible failure of a military adventure should have argued strongly against hasty action. The Sri Lankan ethnics conflict is already sufficently complex without India adding to thie complexity by getting it involved in Indian geo-politics or regional power struggles.

In summary, even if the Indian military assault could be justified, it should have been obvious that it would seriously impede the return to peace and normalcy which the accord sought to promote.

Dr. BRIAN SENEWIRATNE

Was it responsible or irresponsible?

The justifiability of a military offensive has to be separated from whether it was conducted in a responsible or irresponsible manner. The Indian military offensive was conducted with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) excluded from the area. Under no circumstances can this be justified. There can never be a situation, a circumstance or an excuse for excluding ICRC from an area of armed conflict. It contravenes the Geneva Convention, Humanitarian law and the laws and conventions that govern armed conflict.

In the Sri Lankan context this is particularly serious since in March 1987 the United Nations Human Rights Commission invited the Sri Lankan government to co-operate with ICRC. it is an invitation that has been ignored by the Sri Lankan government and now the Indian authorities who are currently in charge. It is a shocking indictment of those who are responsible for the military offensive in Jaffna that this should be so.

Even if the military offensive was expected to result in few civilian casualties (which it could not have been reasonably expected to do), excluding ICRC is completely unjustifiable. Injured militants even though armed, have under the conventions and laws that govern armed conflict, a right to proper medical care.

Civilian casualties

In an action such as was embarked upon, some civilian casualties are inevitable. Whether such an action could be judged as irresponsible would depend on the number of civilians likely to be killed or injured. For such an assessment, it is important to appreciate that Jaffna is not a hole in the ground where militants are dug in. It is the fourth largest town in Sri Lanka with some 130,000 people. The extensive area targeted for the offensive had a population of some 350,000. They are odinary Tamil civilians who had a right to be there. It is on this densely populated area that the Indians thought fit to unleash a major military offensive.

Prior to the military assault the Indian authorities asked civilians to leave the area. This is easier said than done. Public transport in Jaffna is non-existent. Private transport is either astronomically expensive or is simply not available because of the lack of fuel. A single case will illustrate the point. An eighty year old man and his disabled wife are in their home in Jaffna, their children and grandchildren having escaped from Jaffna. Indian helicopters drop leaflets asking them to leave, warning that they are about to shell the area. Where are they to go and how are they to go? Their death may be 'negligible' to India but not to those who are concerned with the right to life of helpless civlians.

The civilian population was instructed by the Indian forces to take refuge in two schools and a temple. The three sites could accomodate no more than three percent of the population at risk. It was a physical impossibility to comply with the Indian request. This clearly has a bearing on the number of civilian casualties which would result from such an assault.

The Indians say that the civilian casualties were negligible, whatever 'negligible' might mean. Reports from other sources in Jaffna, in particular the Jaffna Red Cross, Church leaders and 12 senior public servants who are heads of government departments, indicate a very different picture. They claim that in the first week of fighting alone, there was aerial bombardment and shelling with, several hundred civilian deaths. It is impossible to verify these varying claims because independent observers have been excluded from the war zone by the authorities i.e. the Sri Lankan government and the Indian authorities. What is shocking and an indictment of the Indian government is that Indian troops should have embarked on such an offensive, having first excluded independent

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observers from the area. It is the sort of action that one has come to expect of repressive regimes such as the Sri Lankan government which has done just this in the past four years, but is not the sort of behaviour that one expects of a responsible country such as India. What is ironic is that five months earlier (May 1987) when the Sri Lankan security forces launched a similar offensive 'Operation Liberation' in the Jaffna peninsula, the Indian government called on the Sri lankan government to stop the indiscriminate killing of civilians and exhibited its military muscle by a forced aid drop of food and medical supplies.

The Indians claim that the Tamil militants were using the civilians as human shields. On the other hand, the militants claim that the civilians were protecting them in return for the protection given to them when under attack by the undisciplined Sri Lankan security forces. Here again, it is impossible to verify the truth or otherwise of these opposing claims unless there are independent observers who, as I have said, have been excluded from the war zone. The continuing exclusion of indpendent observers has considerably decreased India's credibility.

The refugee situation

The arrangements made by the Indians to cope with the refugees from their military assault can only be described as negligently inadequate. Not only were the three designated areas totally inadequate to accomodate the population at risk but the arrangements, especially regarding sanitation and food, exhibited a degree of disregard for human life and suffering that must evoke universal condemnation. An on-the-spot account by a reporter for the Sri Lankan and foreign press states, 'One section of the grounds, used to defecate, stank from a distance and must have bred many diseases. Then there was the question of the rain. People used to go to their homes in the day and come back in the night, where they streched mats and polythene on the sand to sleep. When it rained they just got wet. The sand. . . leaving puddles which soon showed green slime. It did not surprise, later in the week, to hear that children were dying of diarrhoea'.

There is overwhelming evidence that Indian shells hit the refugee camps, killing several and seriously injuring many more. What is serious and an indictment of the Indian government is that international humanitarian and refugee organisations have been, and still are, excluded from the area.

The medical situation

The medical situation has been critical and continues to be so. The Jaffna hospital has reportedly been hit several times by mis-aimed shells. This has been confirmed by doctors fleeing the area. However, a foreign reporter based in Colombo claims that the hospital was barely touched. Before his report is accepted, what must be established is whether he was reporting what he was allowed to see and also what effect an adverse report would have had on his visa to remain in Colombo. This is not paranoia but the realism of life under a repressive regime which has completely nuzzled the press.

There was a serious shortage of drugs, dressings, blood and oxygen. There has indisputably been a large number of avoidable casualties from infection and blood loss. The most serious aspect is that all this occurred with ICRC excluded from the area.

After the major offenisve was over, there was an announcement that ICRC would be allowed into Jaffna. There is little comfort in admitting this internationally renowned body after the damage has been done. Moreover, at the time of writing it is still uncertain whether the ICRC admission is a reality and how much access they will be given.

Essential services

The essential services were disrupted. The electricty supply to Jaffna was deliberately cut, supposedly to prevent militants from using devices to detonate mines. The sewerage system was disrupted. In a town with over 100,000 people, the risk of a major epidemic of diseases such as typhoid and cholera is undeniable. The effects of such irresponsible acts will be the same as that of biological warfare. Whether one explodes a bomb containing typhoid bacilli or disrupts the sewerage system with a consequent contamination of the water supply, the results will be the same. This is especially serious where the hospital is simply unable to cope with such infections, should they occur. What has been done is deplorable, unethical and unjustifiable. It should generate sufficient protests across the world to ensure that it is never repeated.

Food

There was a severe shortage of food. What food was available was inaccessible because of a 24 hour curfew which created terrible problems. People were literally straving to death. Such inhuman, irresponsible and barbaric acts must be condemned irrespective of the military power of those who commit them. Belated food drops are no anwser.

The media

The media have been excluded from Jaffna. When the Sri Lankan government did so, it was called repression and a violation of basic civil rights. When the Indian government did so there were no protests. There seems to be more than an element of double standards.

Rape and atrocities

There are the usual charges of rape and atrocities levelled against the Indian troops, as there were against the Sri Lankan troops. India will most certainly deny these charges, but are these denials acceptable? Are not such denials a matter of routine, whether or not they are true? Here again, the truth or otherwise of the charges and their denials can be verified only if there are independent observers, which the Indian authorities have thought necessary to exclude from the scene. When such atrocities were alleged to be committed by the Sri Lankan security forces, there was the expected and commendable international outrage. When alleged to be committed by soldiers of the fourth largest army in the world, there are not even questions asked, let alone protests. Why?

Standards of behaviour

India is a major power in the area. Extensive powers also carry extensive responsibilities. One expects of such powers, a standard of behaviour which is different from that of petty dictators heading dubious regimes in countries with a dismal record of human rights violations. If India has decided to associate with such regimes, then the least it can do, is to see that in areas such as the exclusion of ICRC and the press and the behaviour of its military, it does not get down to the level of those it has replaced. Military offensives carried out behind closed doors will not enhance the reputation of the Indian army.

The question of Indian credibility

It has been rightly said that in states of war, the first casualty is truth. The Indian military assault on Jaffna is no exception. As I have indicated, there are diametrically opposing statements by India and by the militant Tamils which cannot be resolved because independent observers have been excluded from the area. At the height of the offensive, a letter was sent to President Jayawardene by twelve senior public servants, most of them heads of government departments, which detailed the assault on Jaffna. It is a telling indictment of the Indian forces by responsible citizens, not a group of armed youths.

In a letter to Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi (14.10.87), the militants invited him to send a team of independent observers from the international press and Amnesty International to

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Jaffna. Gandhi's failure to respond throws serious doubts on the Indian version of what went on. Phil Jones, a BBC correspondent who slipped into Jaffna before the offensive and remained there, reported that some of the claims made by Delhi regarding what was going on in Sri Lanka were not true. This and other reports suggest that just because the news is put out by a major power, it is not necessarily true. Independent observers will have to be urgently admitted to the Tamil areas if India is to maintain any degree of credibility with the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka, and indeed, with the rest of the world.

The ethnic conflict

The damage done by the military offensive to the ethnic problem has been considerable. There will be serious repercussions, the most serious being on India and the peace accord.

In order to appreciate what these consequences are, let us look at why a particular group of militants are in opposition to the Indian government. The area of conflict between the Tamil Tigers and the Indian government originates from the fact that the Tamil Tigers want a separate State, which is not what India wants Sri Lanka to have. One is led to believe that a separate State is a militant Tamil demand. It must be appreciated that this is what the people of Jaffna wanted. At the last general election in 1977, the Tamil people in the north voted overwhelmingly for the political party that stood for the establishment of a separate State. It was the request of the Tamil people, not just of the militants. It is the demand of the Tamil people for a genuine (cf pseudo) devolution of power to the Tamil areas which would enable them to live with equality and dignity, that is being crushed, not a band of armed youths.

India must appreciate that the Tamil militants have extensive backing in Jaffna, partly because they have defended the civilian population from the asault of the undisciplined Sri Lankan security forces and partly because they are part of their families. The militants are sons and daughters of the ordinary people of Jaffna. It is very unlikely that having crushed the militants, India will have any credibility in Jaffna or in the Tamil areas. Sending food ships to Jaffna which India is in the process of doing, is no atonement for the killing of sons and daughters.

The Agreement aims at returning Sri Lanka to 'peace and normalcy'. Whatever the piece of paper that has been signed, the return to normalcy is going to be very difficult, if not impossible, after this assault on Jaffna. The chance that India had of setting the ethnic conflict is rapidly being thrown away because of an ill-conceived and irresponsible attack on Jaffna, regardless of the lives or feelings of the vast civilian population.

Aside from the political aspects of this assault, as I have repeatedly said, I am concerned about the plight of unarmed civilians who have never advocated violence. These are the people who are at the receiving end of the Indian assault, be it accidental or deliberate. They are the same people whom the Indians will have to work with and live with if they are to make the peace accord work. To describe the recent asault as short-sighted would be a gross understatement.

Is it the fault of the Tamil Tigers?

There are those who believe that it is the fault of the Tigers. It may be. Perhaps they are fighting for a greater degree of devolution of power to the Tamil people than India is prepared to 'permit' and more than what the Tamils in the north and the east are prepared to pay for. The Tamils are almost pathological optimists. This is not a term used in any derogratory way but a reflection of the basic peace loving nature of the Tamils. Their desire for peace is so great that they will accept any terms, however dubious the offer may be. Perhaps the Tamil people prefer to live under an illusion of power sharing than to face up to the dishonesty of the Sri Lankan government, the racist extremists in the Sinhalese government and the Sinhalese opposition and the extreme ethnic chauvinism of the Buddhist clergy. They are also probably unprepared to face the unpalatable but very real fact that India will not secure a greater degree of power-sharing for the Tamil minority, than Delhi is prepared to grant its own perihpery.

In a series of publications on the ethnic conflict, I have consistently opposed the pursuit of political goals by the use of military force, by militants, governments or peace keeping forces. The Tamil militants are clearly unaware of what (non-military) force they could generate, given the extensive grassroots support they have in the Tamil areas, to obtain the devolution of power that would enable their people to live with equality and dignity. Perhaps they are mad to stand up to the fourth largest army in the world and sacrifice the best of their youth. However, does it justify a major military offensive by a peace keeping force against a town packed with civilians and that too, with international observers and ICRC excluded? The answer, wherever ones loyalties lie, cannot be in the affirmitave.

There has been a serious massacre of Sinhalese in the eastern province allegedly committed by the LTTE, which was supposedly the trigger for the Indian military assault on the LTTE. Like all operations behind closed doors, there are more possibilites than one. After the accord was signed, there is no question that the Sri Lankan government accelerated the return or relocation, of Sinhalese into the Tamil areas, especially around Trincomalee. The militants claim that returning Tamil refugees were prevented from doing so by the government paramilitary 'Home Guard' who were not disarmed by the government. There are allegations that a senior government minister who openly opposed the accord, sent his (Sinhalese) hoodlums to the Eastern Province to create the necessary chaos. There is no doubt that the LTTE objected to this since it could significantly affect the proposed referendum in the Eastern Province. This objection does not necessarily mean that the LTTE were responsible for the massacre of the Sinhalese which followed. They claimed, and there is some evidence to support it, that rival groups were encouraged by the Indians and the Sri Lankan government to carry out these massacres so that the LTTE could be discredited and the (subsequent) assault on them justified. None of these possibilities can be discounted in the complex situation currently prevailing in the country. The claims and counterclaims which do nothing towards 'restoring peace and normalcy' are the price of excluding independent observers from the area. The responsibility lies with the Indian government who currently are in effective control of the area.

What has been achieved?

As has been stated, the objective of the Indian military offensive was to disarm, or crush, a particular group of Tamil militants and hopefully, capture the top militant leadership. As is so often the case in such conventional war methods against guerilla groups, apart from the destruction of a great deal of civilian property and lives, none of the objectives were achieved. In areas where militants have extensive grassroots support they cannot be crushed. They merely 'melt away' into the populace or into the jungle, taking their arms with them. They then regroup, rearm and return to the fray, perhaps altering their tactics to hit and run attacks.

The misguided Indian military assault on Jaffna has been no exception. Jaffna was under siege with thousands of highly trained Indian forces advancing on some 2,500 militants in the city. The result seemed a foregone conclusion. However, it was not to be. The arms of the pincer movement met but the militants had slipped the cordon. What is important to stress is that such a sequence is completely impossible unless the militants had the extensive support of civilians. What the Indian action has resulted in, like so many previous assaults by the Sri Lankan security forces, is a serious loss of Tamil civilian lives and a turning of the people against a so-called peace keeping force.

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The indian fiasco emphasises, if such emphasis is indeed needed, that 10,000 or even 20,000 troops, even of a renowned army, are no match for a fraction of that number of militants who have the support of the local people. It is certain that provided the militants have the support of the local people (and the proviso is important), it will not be possible for any military force to crush them. India might well have to practice what it preached to President Jayawardene only a few months ago, that neither the militant problem nor the Sri Lankan ethnic conflict can be settled by a shoot out, and that negotiations, which must include the militants, are mandatory.

India claims to have killed 769 Tamil rebels and lost 196 troops with 641 injured. The Sri Lankan military counts about 60 LTTE dead, 210 Indians killed and 675 injured. The LTTE claims that 400 civilians have been killed and 950 injured. These widely differing figures are a reflection of the unreliability of all the sources and the urgent need for the admission of those with no vested interests apart from monitoring the serious violation of human rights which are continuing to occur in Sri Lanka despite a so-called peace accord.

With the Sri Lankan government, and now the Indian government, pouring in troops (currently) some 30,000 in the Tamil areas) there is a disturbing parallel which both governments must note since history repeats itself. In 1971, militant Sinhalese youths in southern Sri Lanka took up arms against Mrs Bandaranaike's government to draw attention to rising unemployment. Mrs Bandaranaike's government turned the guns on them, killing thousands, reportedly as many as 40,000. Fifteen years later, these youths have rearmed and are now ready to challenge the prsent government, which emphasises the point that political/economic problems cannot be settled by bullets.

India has a major role to play as an honest broker between the Sri Lankan government and the Tamil militants, both bent on pursuing an impossible military victory to a political problem. This role was partially forfeited when India agreed to enter the military conflict by moving in troops to support President Jayawardene. The military assault on Jaffna has completely removed any possibility of India securing or maintaining peace and has made the 'Indian Peace Keeping Force' about as laughable as the 'Sri Lankan Security Forces'. The 'Peace Keeping' force has brought about as much peace to the local civilian population as the 'Security' forces brought security.

The partisan support given to some militant groups by Delhi makes India a dubiously acceptable country to disarm all the militants. It must be expected that the charge that one or the other group is being selectively disarmed would arise and this has happened. Whether India actively armed or failed to disarm a particular militant group so that they could destroy another cannot be reliably assessed until independent observers are allowed into the area. There is however definite evidence that one militant group* has been armed by the Sri Lankan authorities who believe that this group and their allies would be useful in their flight against the LTTE.

The parallel with South Lebanon is striking. There the Israelis hoped that by arming Christians they would help defeat the Shi'ites. It is significant that the Israel Mossad were advisors to the Sri Lankan government. The Indian government is going down the same road.

The Indian army went to Sri Lanka to make peace not war. When the Indians arrived, the local Tamils greeted them as their saviours. This has now changed. As one senior Sri Lankan police officer told Simon Freeman, the London Sunday Times reporter, the local people regard the Indian army with the same contempt as they did the Sri Lankan police and army. As Freeman concluded, 'it is easy for an army to march proudly into a foreign land. . . It is sometimes much harder to march out again'. The parallel with Northern Ireland is inescapable. The British Army went to Northern Ireland in 1969 and is still there, though no one wants them. They are not wanted by the Catholics who welcomed tham as their saviours in 1969, nor the Protestants, nor even themselves.

Responsibilty of foreign powers

Foreign powers such as the United States and Australia, have rightly or wrongly, looked to India to settle this conflict on the grounds that Sri Lanka is in its so-called 'area of interest'. These same powers must now ask the question whether it is not time that an International Peace Keeping Force (from countries uninvolved in the conflict) and independent observers are admitted to Sri Lanka with the concurrent withdrawal of the Indian forces. Irrespective of the regional ambitions of India, the need for the United Nations to focus on this problem in Sri Lanka is long overdue.

Action

It is urgent that all those, irrespective of ethnicity or race, who are concerned with the rights of man, should demand that the Sri Lankan and Indian authorities admit without further delay, ICR, Amnesty International and other human rights organisations and most importantly, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, so that these combined groups can treat the sick and the dying, monitor the human rights situation and rehabilitate the thousands of refugees from the recent assault on Jaffna by the Indian troops. This futile exercise must generate sufficient protests to ensure that such an irresponsible act which has cost so many civilian lives, committed by a force sent to Sri Lanka to keep peace, never occurs again.

*Simon Freeman, the London Sunday Times reporter who slipped into Mannar in October 1987, obtained this information from a TELO guerilla.

MEMORIAL MEETING

A WELL attended service in memory of those who had died in the recent violence in the Tamil areas of Sri Lanka was organised at St Alpage Church, Burnt Oak, Middlesex on 6.12.87. Rev Hugh Moore welcomed those present.

Mr Jeremy Corbyn M.P. speaking said that even though it was a day of great sadness it was a day of hope. Tamils in the UK, Sri Lanka and other parts of the world, he said were going through the same feeling of sadness, but there was a determination to put an end to all the horrors of the violence perpetrated and look forward to a day of peace. It was hoped that the Tamil people and the Tamil language would not be discriminated against as it had happened in the past.

The process of mourning he felt was important as it enabled us to remember the wonderful people who had perished in the conflict, the awful circumstances in which they died and to remember that they did not die in vain.

Mr C.J.T. Thamothram said that it was a tragedy that the nation that was wedded to Ahimsa and Satyagraha and which was welcomed as a saviour of the Tamil people should now be using guns and planes to terrorise and kill hundreds of Tamil civilians. He appealed for an immediate ceasefire and resumption of negotiations with the LTTE to bring them into the democratic process.

Those present signed letters of appeal to the U.N.O., the British government, human rights and church organisations to intercede on their behalf to bring about a ceasefire and concede the just demands of the Tamil people.

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THE AGONY OF URUMPIRAY

By Richard de Zoysa

KOTAHENA, Wellawatte, Dehiwela — wherever you go in Colombo or its suburbs these days you find that all the Tamil houses are over populated and living space is scarce.

Three to four families living under one roof has become a common feature. The little boarding houses down Armour Street and the middle class homes down narrow lanes off Galle Road are already full to over-flowing.

As you go from house to house you notice how the same faces keep turning up. Many of these people are inter-related. They all have something in common. They are refugees from the Jaffna Peninsula, and they all have their own stories to relate.

With an estimated 400,000 people leaving the battle-ravaged north, Colombo is experiencing an influx of refugees.

It reminds one of 1983 — although this time the exodus is from Jaffna, once considered by Tamils as safer than the capital.

Now with the Indian army carrying out a similar if more intensive campaign against the L.T.T.E. as the Sri Lankan security forces did in Vadamarachchi in May, the civilian population has opted (as they did then) to leave the battle-fronts and seek shelter.

As they have learned painfully over the past few weeks Jaffna has ceased to be safe even for civilians. Mr. Velmurugan (not his real name) is on the phone when we arrived at his friend's in Wellawatte 'No,no, those are rumours, let me tell you the facts, these rumours are very dangerous things,' he says to the person on the other end and then says 'I'll ring you back,' when he realises we have arrived.

He turns round, a dressing on his cheek just an inch and a half below his eye. 'Some flying object, probably shrapnel,' he tells us later, and display's another, smaller, dressing on his thigh. But that is after he has told his story.

Hundred shells per day!

A native of Urumpirai, he shifted there after the 1983 riots. A retired government servant, he used his savings to build a house for six lakhs between 1984 and 1985. He left it last week, damaged but standing, and says he doesn't know whether it will be there when he gets back.

In straight forward, no-nonsense terms he tells of the agony of Urumpirai.

'Shelling was going on at a hell of a rate at least hundred per day,' he says.

'Several people took refuge in my house, because it had an upstairs, and they thought they would be safer on the bottom floor. But on Wednesday the 14th a piece of iron a size of an iddily came crashing through the roof, rolled down the stairs into the room where we all were.'

The next day he says, 'he went out in the morning to pick flowers for the shrine room and when he came back he found another shell had struck the roof. The house was full of smoke'.

It is at this point that the story of another family whom we have met earlier in the week must be repeated. On Saturday 17th a landmine went off at Urumpirai, overturning an Indian armoured vehicle. No one actually saw any bodies, but they assume from the wreck the vehicle was in that there must have been deaths. Given the history of this long conflict, this must be remembered — not in — mitigation, but for understanding, as Mr. Velmurugan goes on with his story.

'On the evening of Sunday the 18th we were listening to the radio — there is a special Indian broadcast for the troops between 5.30 and 6pm. We heard machine gun fire from close by. I rushed and bolted the door of my house. Barely ten seconds later, the windows were shattered and bullets tore through my front door. One man had a flesh wound, which we dressed.

'That night, my guest left for a place further off the main road, where they hoped to be safer. I stayed in the house. Right through the night I heard my 93 year old neighbour calling for her daughter. At about 3 a.m. the shouting stopped.'

It was morning when he found out what had happened. In the back garden of the neighbouring house lay three corpes — two women in their seventies and the 40 year old daughter of one of them.

'Crows had already started eating the bodies, pecking a hole around the bullet wounds. when I got there.'

The 93 year old woman lay in the kitchen, also shot dead. A trail of blood showed how she had dragged herself from a room towards the garden, calling to her daughter.

'There were spent bullets in the house. She had been shot there, the others in the garden. I was afraid that dogs would come and eat them, so I buried the bodies.'

On an earlier visit, to a differnt house, we have met a young girl who tells us how she helped her Chittappa (Uncle) bury four bodies.

She is here as well, and the uncle tells of how he took the jewellery from the bodies and gave it to his niece for safekeeping. Then he deepened one end of the bunker and buried the bodies there. Those bunkers — some concrete and costing up to a thousand rupees, some more makeshift — that were built in practically every Jaffna garden as Sri Lankan air strikes increased. . .

Bunkers filled in

Those bunkers, some of them filled in so joyfully when peace broke out. . .

On Monday the 19th at around 11 a.m. the tanks arrived. (BMP track vehicles, ironically the same vehicles used to smuggle Prabhakaran and Kittu past Sri Lankan troops at Palaly, heralding long-ago peaceful August).

'They came through by-roads and gardens, smashing everything in their way, travelling from the North-east towards Jaffna.'

'There were about 60 soldiers running behind them' his niece adds.

Those who could leave did so hurriedly leaving their dead and dying behind. 'We were afraid the soldiers would come back and shoot us', they say.

Mr. Velmurugan says he saw 17-18 bodies that day, within a radius of half to three quarters of a mile.

The dead were all old men, women and girls. We ask him if the Tigers had retreated from the area, and if so, when. He looks at us half pityingly, half suspiciously.

'They are guerrilla fighters, no? They do not retreat, they hide and attack like this and hide again. I personally did not see during that time, but that does not mean they were not around.' Another man ships in.

'But the point is that all the young and the fit had gone. Those who were left in these houses were those who were unable to get away, or wouldn't. The survival of the fittest.' He smiles wryly.

The Hindus have a funeral custom they call Vaikerasi. Rice is placed on the forehead and mouth of the corpse. the Indians brought us rice. Now they are bringing us Vaikerasi,' they say, over and over again in the crowded sitting rooms of their safe havens in Colombo.

Mr Velumurugan finally left for Colombo on Friday the 23rd. He was waiting for the ferry at Changapiddy to cross over to Pooneryn, on the mainland when he and his fellow travellers heard the sound of a helicopter. They took cover under a concrete seat in the bus shelter. From where he was Mr. Velmurugan says, he could see the helicopter clearly.

'It was Indian. It had wheels, and it was big,' he says. That was when the action sequence began. The helicopter flew straight along the jetty, dropping 'Large fireballs' which exploded when they hit the ground.

A lorry went up in flames, which spread to the van in which they had arrived. Mr. Velmurugan smiles sheepishly as he tells us 'my suitcase was in the van I ran out to save it. It was so hot I thought I was on fire. I

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WAVE OF VIOLENCE IN SOUTH SRI LANKA

SOUTH Sri Lanka has witnessed an unprecendented series of violent incidents in the recent past, particularly since the signing of the Indo- Sri Lanka peace agreement in July this year. The targets of the attacks have been mainly members and supporters of the ruling United National Party. Those killed have included government party MPs and well known supporters.

The responsibility for this wave of violence that has swept across the southern parts of the island has been atributed to the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), which while claiming to be marxist has carried on a virulent campaign against the government proposals for devolution of power to the Tamils. The JVP has remained proscribed under emergency laws since July 1983 for alleged involvement in that year's anti-Tamil riots.

The private Secretary of the ruling party MP for Anamaduwa, Mr. A. Wadigamanagawa, was hacked to death on 3 November by a gang at his own home. The victim, Mr. E. Balasuriya, was cut with swords and later died in hospital.

In Badulla, the office of the Deputy Minister of Rural Development and MP for Badulla, Mr. Bincent Dias, was set on fire and razed to the ground during the night of 3 November. Valuable documents and office equipment are said to have been destroyed in the inferno.

On the same day, a petrol station employee was shot dead when he tried to resist an armed gang in Panadura, 16 miles from Colombo. The same gang is alleged to have first looted another petrol station also in the same town and got away with Rs.34,000 in cash.

These attacks were the latest in a series of violent acts in which at least 60 members or supporters of the ruling UNP had been killed since the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka peace accord.

Unknown persons burnt to death the President of the Suriyawewa branch of the the UNP, Mr. J.A. Diyonis, in the early hours of 4 November. The victim was forcibly removed from his residence, doused in kerosene and set on fire.

A bomb exploded in the early hours of 1 November in the compound of the residence in Kandy of the Deputy Minister of Higher Education, Mr. A.M.R.B. Attanayake, causing extensive damage to the house, his official car and some of the furniture. The Deputy Minister and his family had been fast asleep in the house at the time of the explosion. The presence of a 56 foot wire leading from the scene of the explosion indicated that the bomb had been triggered by remote control. Two armed policemen and three men from a private security agency had been on gaurd duty at the time the bomb went off.

Police sources suspect that those responsible for the explosion at the Deputy Minister's residence were also connected with the bomb attack on the Indian Deputy High Commissioner's Office also in Kandy on the previous Sunday, 25 October.

On 4 November, a group of unidentified men entered the residence of Grama Sevaka of Penaetiyana, Weligama in south Sri Lanka, G.P. Weerasiri, aged 40, and shot him dead while the victim was having his dinner.

A police constable, a lawyer and grama Sevaka (village headman) were killed in three separate incidents of violence on 7 November. The policeman was killed at the Hingurakgoda town Busstand when a gang attacked him and two others who were on duty. At Kamburupitiya, another armed gang shot dead a lawyer named Ranatunga at his residence. The Grama Sevaka was shot dead at Veyangoda by two unidentified men who had come on bicycles. All three victims are said to be supporters of the ruling UNP.

An unidentified armed gang entered the house of the Principal of Pandanangala Maha Vidyalaya in Kuttigama, Ratnapura, on 8 November and shot him dead. The victim, Shelton Jayasinghe, was forcibly removed from his house, despite cries for help from his wife and son, to a spot half a mile away, his hands tied behind him and shot at point range.

Over 50 people were killed and another 199 injured when a car bomb exploded during the afternoon rush hour at Maradana in Colombo on 9 November.

At least fifty incidents of violence were reported on 10 November in the run up to the parliamentary debate on the 13th Amendment to the Constitution and the Provincial Council Bill. The affected areas were in the North central, Southern and Western provinces. Acts of sabotage cut power supplies and train services were brought to a halt in some areas when fish plates were removed from rail tracks. Several buses belonging to the state owned CTB and petrol bousers were set on fire.

Communication links with central Sri Lanka was nearly severed during the early hours of 11 November when an unidentified gang exploded two powerful bombs beneath the central telecommunication receiving and relaying tower situated at Primrose Hill in Kandy. The explosive charges placed on two legs of the tower failed to topple it or the dishes attached to it as the other two legs were left undamaged. The bombs had been detonated from a distance by remote control.

On the same day, at a spot about three miles from Kegalle town, police

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didn't want to get back to the bus stand, so I slipped into the sea, leaving my suitcase on a rock. On another rock nearby a man was dying.'

He half-ran, half-stumbled the five miles to Pooneryn. On the way the helicopter came by again, and once more he took to the water, this time holding onto a big rock on the shallow ocean bed to keep himself under. But the helicopter turned its attention to Karaitivu — the other jetty where travellers get across the lagoon.

At pooneryn, he had his wounds dressed and spent the night with an acquaintance. The next day Monday 26 by 8 a.m. all the residents of the town were rounded up by an Indian detatchment and marched to the hospital grounds with their hands in the air.

However this was only a token detention. After a lecture on the evils of supporting the Tigers the people of Poonerym were allowed to return to their homes, and Mr. Velmurugan to continue his journey.

His cynicism is apparent when he describes how the officer assured everyone the Indians were there to protect them from the Tigers.

On Tuesday he arrived in Colombo. His story over, the crowd around him stirs. One family gets up to leave. He asks the young girl, 'when is your flight?'

'Tomorrow,' she replies. He shakes her gravely by the hand. The exodus is on again. All resting places are temporary, all futures uncertain.

The history of refugee populations is a tale of sorrow. It is also frightening. Today easy parallels are, being drawn with Vietnam and Afghanistan. Facile exercies like this can mislead, but history does teach us certain lessons.

For twenty centuries the children of Israel roamed the world in search of a home. When they finally found one, they forced the children of Palestine into camps, like the ghettoes of hate they themselves had suffered in.

The word ghettoes carries too much emotional baggage, as does the story of the Jews. In Sri Lanka, we still travel light — in a verbal sense — and we have our own phrases. A young Tamil friend sums up his feelings with this line:

'The future of the people of Jaffna lies in the depths of their bunkers.'

(Courtesy of 'Sunday Times (Sri Lanka) 1 November 1987).

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SRI LANKA: NEWS IN BRIEF

● **AN ARMED** gang of 15 Sinhalese youths recently entered the residence of Donald Ranaweera, former MP for Muwara Eliya, and got away with cash, jewllery and other valuable items worth several lakhs of rupees. The ex-MP was not at home at the time of the raid; the caretaker and servants had been ordered into a room and locked up by the gang before they began to loot.

● **AUSTRALIA** 6would contribute $100,000 to the Sri Lankan government to assist in the provision of emergency food aid for people affected by severe drought conditions, according to an announcement made on 26 November by the Australian Acting Minister of Foreign affairs, Mr. Michael Duffy. It is estimated that up to two million people have been affected by a 14 month drought which has resulted in a massive crop loss estimated at 400,000 tonnes.

● **THREE** police constables attached to the Anguruwatota police station have been interdicted on suspicion that they were members of a proscribed political party, the JVP.

● **TAMILS** should realise that the Indo-Sri Lanka peace agreement had won them their basic language rights plucked away three decades ago, and prepare themselves to enjoy the benfits gained by the grant of official status, said Mr. S. Thondaman, Minister of Rural Industrial Development and President of the Ceylon Workers Congress.

● **FOLLOWING** the murder of a senior police officer by two motor-cycle riding gunmen wearing helmets, an emergency regulation has been promulgated prohibiting motor cyclists from wearing helmets with accessories, under which category visors of all types including riding gogles and chin guards have been included.

● **TWENTY** alleged members of the Three Star Group comrpising breakaway sections of some Tamil militant groips, including three young women, were arrested by the IPKF in Vavuniya. The Indian troops swooped on a camp sited in dense forests in Vavuniya in the early hours of 26 November following complaints from residents in the area that the group was responsible for most of the robberies in the area.

● **THE FIRST** lamp post killing in South Sri Lanka was reported from Kattawa in the Akuressa police area. The victim is P.K. Dharmadasa, 65 years of age, who was tied to a lamp post and shot dead on 26 November by gunmen alleged to be members of the JVP.

● **THE VALUE** of export earnings generated by companies in commercial operations in Sri Lanka's export processing zones at Katunayake and Biyagama amounted to $57 million during January to March 1987. This amount represents an increase of 32.4 per cent from the earnings for the corresponding period in the previous year.

● **POSTERS,** alleged to be put up by the LTTE, have appeared all over Jaffna threatening people with dire consequences if they co-operated with the Indian Peace Keeping Force in the restoration of essential services.

● **THE DIRECT** damage as a result of the ethnic civil war was Rs.55,000 million up to August 1987. Now it must be about Rs.70,000 million. The indirect damage was incalculable, said the Minister of Finance, Ronnie de Mel, during the debate of the budget for 1988 on 26 November.

● **A BUDDHIST** monk, Ven. Kirikiththe Jinaseeha Thera, who had been detained for 90 days under Emergency Regulations for alleged activities of the proscribed JVP and possession of firearms was on 24 November released on bail in a sum of Rs.5000 by the Colombo Additional Magistrate. The suspect was taken into custody on August 8 during a raid on a Buddhist Temple at Udupila in the course of which an automatic rifle and two shot guns were allegedly found. Police sources claimed that the automatic weapon was one of those stolen from the Katunayake Air Force Camp during a dawn raid by a group of unidentified youths.

● **THE WORLD** Food Programme has approved emergency food assistance valued at $2.7 million for Sri Lanka for 1988. According to WFP officials in Rome, about 250,000 Sri Lankan families displaced by the ethnic conflict would be given little over 4,000 tonnes of wheat.

● **THE HUNT** for Ajith Kumra, the chief suspect in the August 18 grenade attack within the parliament is continuing without any positive information about his whereabouts. Some employees of the Parliamentary complex are still under detention or interrogation, according to police sources. When the police swooped down on the suspect's residence shortly after the attack, they found the house locked up and he with his wife and child had decamped.

● **THIRTEEN** alleged members of the Tamil militant group PLOTE led by Uma Maheswaran were reported to be among the 27 Tamils who died in a landmine explosion that ripped through the bus plying from Chettikulam in Mannar on 13 November. The landmine is alleged to have been planted by a rival militant group.

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arrested three youths who were allegedly attempting to cut steel pylons carrying high tension electricity between Kurunegalle and Kegalle. The police allegedly recovered 100 hacksaw blades and a shot gun and cartridges from the youths.

An armed gang of Sinhalese youths walked into the UNP branch office at Tissamaharama on 13 November and shot dead the branch secretary, H. Appuhamy. On the same day, in another incident, an unknown gang had cut the hands of a youth council watcher. During the night of 12 November, an unidentified gang killed a home guard in Badureliya and removed his shot gun.

Unknown gunmen attacked the residence of Polonnaruwa Assistant Superintendent of Police, Peter Gunetilleke, injuring one police constable on 14 November.

While the Badulla MP, Vincent Dias was asleep with his family, his residence was shot on 16 November. The sentry on duty fired back and the gunmen got away.

Police raided the home of a serviceman at Pahala Yagoda in the Ganemulla area on 16 November and seized a large quantity of explosives, 11 detonators, gun powder and dynamite sticks. The serviceman who was taken into custody was being interrogated for possible connection with a proscribed political party.

An unidentified gang threw acid on a police party on 19 November at Kadurugashena in Akmeemana. The victims numbering three are hospitalised with severe acid burns.

The President of the Gramodaya Mandalaya in Inginiyagala, Mr. Perera was shot dead on 21 November. The victim was shot by unknown gunmen while watching television. Two more UNP activists were also shot dead in the Moneragala area on 22 November.

THREE persons were killed in south Sri Lanka during the 24 hours ending noon on 26 November when alleged subversive groups stepped up attacks against 'informants' or supporters of the ruling United National Party. Among those killed are an Irrigation department employee, K. Karunaratne who was gunned down in broad daylight in the north central province. S. Premadasa, a supporter of the UNP and the Indo-Sri Lanka accord became the second victim when he was killed by an unidentified gang. The third victim was D.H. Gunatilleke, a resident of Uhana, who was killed in Amparai. No arrests have been made.

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Carnage in Jaffna

AFTER 13 days of Indian efforts to wrest control of the Sri Lankan city of Jaffna from Tamil militants, the area is in chaos. Estimates are that half Jaffna's population is homeless. Hospitals are no longer able to provide adequate care to the wounded.

People are going without food, and relief workers claim that the Indian army itself is preventing them from distributing supplies. A representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees says the organization has no mandate to help about half a million internal refugees who are fleeing the violence in the Jaffna peninsula. Hundreds of people have been killed, including Indian soldiers, Tamil Guerrillas and civilians.

In spite of this bitter and wasteful warfare, India claims to have taken only a third of the city. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the largest and most militant group of separatist Tamils, have proved a much tougher 'foe' than India ever imagined and their resolve to fight to the last gasp is clearly not going to weaken.

Meanwhile, the Indian operation is comming increasingly under attack, both in Sri Lanka and Indian. Sri Lankan Prime Minister Junius Jayawardene, who signed the accord that brought the Indian peacekeeping force to his country, has more than once criticized its failure to control the situation. Indian government officials in Tamil Nadu, the southern state of India where many ethnic Tamils live, are worried about an impending bloodbath. Jaffna Red Cross president R. Balasumbramaniam has called on 'anyone in the world valuing human life (to) step in and stop the annihilation in Sri Lanka.

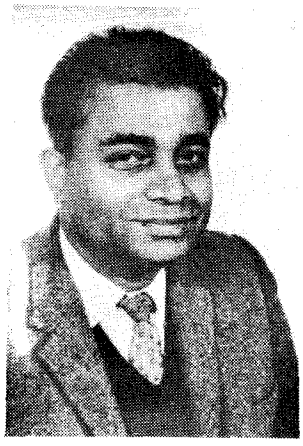
That was not an easy task before the Indian peacekeeping force arrived, since both Tamil separatists and the Sri Lankan army were involved in the killing of civilians. It is even more difficult now. The Indian army has clearly transcended the functions of peacekeeping and become a combatant. The number of guerrillas soldiers and civilians who have died since the Indian army arrived has steadily risen, and that army, too, has now been implicated in civilian killings.

The carnage seems to have intimidated both sides in the Jaffna battle. Tigers recently pleaded for an end to the Indian assault and the Indians have offered an amnesty to the guerrillas, on the condition that they surrender their arms. That deal has been struck before, and violated. The Indians say the Tamils violated it. The Tamils say the Indians did. It no longer really matters who is right. India once supported the Tamil separatists in their fight against the Sinhalese majority of Sri Lanka, but both sides now feel they have been stabbed in the back by the other, and the resulting mistrust makes any new ceasefire unlikely to last to long.

But since both sides are showing a distast for the killing, it is worth pursuing that hairline crack in their determination to win at any cost. The job can not be left to the Indian army, which is referred to derisively in the Sri Lankan English-language press as the 'So-called Indian peacekeeping force.' Maybe Mr. Balasumbramaniam is in a position to shuttle back and forth between the two sides to investigate the tiny opening that seems to have presented itself, although he is increasingly associated with the Tamil cause. It may be that the United Nations can provide a suitable emissary.

The hope of success in such a venture is vague and unfocused. But the alternative is horrifyingly clear. The world does not need another Northern Ireland or another Punjab, or another West Bank. It may get such a situation in Sri Lanka, but an effort to prevent it is worth while, even now.

(Editorial: 'The Globe & Mail', Toronto)



IN MEMORIAM

IN everloving memory of Dr. T. Thambyahpillai (Reasearch Fellow, Imperial College) who passed away on December 4, 1984

Life is never the same,
Since you passed away,
We hoped for your return,
But found to our dismay,
That you had left this earth,
We prayed for you to stay,
We go on shedding tears,
You are missed so much everyday.

Your loving wife and children, Meenalosani, Sivakamasunthari and Shiyamalanayagi.

ARUNASALAM SUBRAMANIAM

Attorney at Law,
Born: 12-08-1908.
Died: 10-11-87
Urumpirai,

A Father so kind and loving,
So considerate and understanding,
Ever ready to meet our needs,
A gesture he made without the slightest stir,
For he had the means and the mind,
Both in abundance to us find,
His ambitions amply fulfilled to see and to hear,
His seven children all today testimony bear,
Departs us in full relaxation and contentment,
For the family and society, A life well spent,
With a wife, our mother, unique,
Affectionate but firm, caring us all alike,
Persistantly devoted to us all,
Assuring a place in society not small,
Has had the rare opportunity to fulfill,
Her last care and rights to the man,
Who had stood by her in all her efforts to plan,
Even under conditions frightful to scan.
And we seven and seven whom he cherished,
And from whom all that is best we derived,
remain painfully denied,
the right to provide the last splinter,
that opens the doors of heaven for him to enter.

From loving children:
Easwara Khanthan — Rohini (USA);
Easwara Haran — Rathy (USA);
Easwara Gowri — Ravi Nadarajah (USA);
Easwara Rupan — Shankari (UK);
Easwara Janani — Sivaloganathan (UK);
Easwara Narthana — Afhirami (USA);
Easwara Ramanan — Dhkashini (New Zealand);

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S.C.O.T. CALLS FOR IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE

DESCRIBING the confrontation between the Indian Peace Keeping Force and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam as 'tragic and devastating', the London-based Standing Committee of Tamil Speaking People (SCOT) has called for an 'immediate ceasefire with a committment by all parties to implement the provisions of the peace accord' followed by free elections giving the right to the people to decide their political destiny.

The following is the full text of a statement adopted by the General Council of SCOT on 7 November 1987:

'The hopes and dreams that followed the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement in July this year of a return to peace, tranquility and normal life after the death and destruction that visited upon the Tamil speaking people of Sri Lanka during several years of conflict and confrontation have been shattered by the latest confrontation between the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).

'The majority of the people, including the Tamil political and militant groups, some unreservedly and others with some reservations, welcomed the peace accord and cessation of hostilities with the prospect for a political solution. Many people and organisations anticipated a period of active rehabilitation and reconstruction for the security of life and property of the Tamil people who had to face unmitigated atrocities at the hands of the Sri Lankan security forces.

'Today, in consequence of the confrontation between the IPKF and the LTTE, tens of thousands of Tamil people have been displaced. Their normal life has been destroyed. They are being driven out of their homes and forced to take refuge in temples and schools.

'Communications and travel to and from the affected areas have been seriously disrupted with little information being made available to the outside world, indeed to those in the rest of Sri Lanka, as to the extent and scale of the casualties and the suffering experienced by the people. Reliable reports indicate that many hundreds of civilians have been killed in the course of this confrontation.

Civilian

'Several governments, including that of India, and international human rights organisations have had occasion in the past to repeatedly and rightly deplore and condemn such attacks upon civilians when Sri Lankan troops were engaged in military encounters in the north and east of the country and to call upon the government of Sri Lanka to work towards a negotiated solution.

'That Tamil civilians should be subjected to similar attacks following peace accord and the arrival of a peace keeping force are even more deplorable.

'We recognise that there has been certain problems connected with the implementation of some of the more important aspects of the peace accord. The constitution of the interim administration has been plagued by disputes as to its composition. We also witnessed a deplorable resurgence of internecine armed conflicts among Tamil militant groups **resulting** in the death of an estimated 200 persons allegedly belonging to the several groups involved.

'It is also noted that the latest tragic turn of events occurred in the wake of the suicide of some 17 LTTE members whom the Sri Security forces captured in a boat and attempted to transfer them to Colombo contrary to the advice and request of the IPKF and the Indian High Commissioner.

'This was followed by a series of deplorable attacks upon civilian Sinhalese living in the north and east resulting in mounting tension in South Sri Lanka raising the ugly prospect of a repeat of the July 1983 anti-Tamil pogrom.

'The peace accord and the very value of the presence of the IPKF began to be questioned at this stage, and it would seem that the IPKF was ordered to enforce the provisions of the accord and seek by force the surrender of weapons from Tamil militants which has resulted in the latest confrontation between the LTTE and the IPKF.

Casualties

'As we have already noted, the consequences of this confrontation between the IPKF and the LTTE have been as tragic and devastating for the Tamil people. We do not believe that a military approach by any party can bring peace and normalcy.

'An immediate ceasefire with a committment by all parties to implement the provisions of the peace accord is imperative to bring about an end to the continuing suffering of the civilian population. We do not believe that a military subjugation of the LTTE or for that matter of any other militant or political group will bring everlasting peace. Such an approach is a sure recipe for continuing conflict and confrontation.

'Peace and normalcy can return only when the people, unfettered by coercion or fear, exercise their untramelled right in a duly held election to determine as to who should lead their political destiny. Every person, group or party must have the right and freedom to fearlessly go before the people and seek their support. Let the people decide by the exercise of their democratic right.'

MASSACRE

SCORES of civilians, including patients, doctors, nurses and other staff were indiscriminately shot dead within the Jaffna Hospital premises by members of the Indian Peace Keeping Force following a confrontation with the LTTE. The following is a sworn account by a doctor:

'At about 4pm, some soldiers walked into the hospital shooting at random. I think all of them were Sikhs since all had their turbans on. Some doctors were relaxing at the doctors' lounge and I tried to get there. But the shooting was very heavy and the people were running for safety. I was thrown on the ground and I remained there for quite a long time, as long as the shooting continued. When evrything was quiet I tried to crawl out to my room and as I did so I realised that I was crawling over some dead bodies.

'I remained in the room till morning. And I hear that Dr.Sivapathasundaram, consultant pediatrician, had come, and I tried to get out of the room. Doctor Sivapathasundram with two nurses was walking with hands raised and shouting: "We are a doctor and nurses and we are surrendering!" But they were shot at point blank.

'Later on we were called out and were asked to remove the bodies. The sight I saw cannot be explained. I wish I were dead. My good friend and colleague Dr. Ganesh had been killed the previous evening. He was in the doctors' lounge, and hearing the gunshots he came out of the room and was killed immediately. The other doctors in the room escaped. We were given three hours to dispose of the bodies, and it was an impossible task as there were so many.

'Dr.Sivapathasundram lives about a mile away from the hospital. We begged the Indian officers to hand over the body to the wife. They refused. His children — twins — are both deaf and dumb and what a tragedy! Dr. Ganesh has his mother and sister, and his body was also burned. The other doctor killed was Dr.Parimelalagan.

'On the whole there were about sixty eight bodies: of the hospital staff, were three doctors, one matron (Ms.Vadivalu), two nurses, two overseers, eleven labourers and one ambulance driver.

'We tried to get the identity of those killed, by searching their pockets and cutting away pieces of clothing. It was humanly impossible as there was a lot of blood, mutilation, disfigured bodies etc. Thank God we were not asked to set fire to the bodies. This was done by them near the mortuary, in the rubbish tank, near the entrance, etc.

'On Friday, we attended to some of the injured. There were about 22 of us, including the interns, and we had to do all the work with very few nurses on duty. All of us were strictly forbidden to leave the hospital premises. Today is the 10th. day and I hear that my house has been blasted and I do not know what has become of my parents.

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MURUGANANTHAM *(son of Dr and Mrs K. Rajaratnam, 60 Exeter Road, Welling, Kent) & YOSHANA (daughter of Dr & Mrs R. Pathmanathan, 12 Melior Court, Shepherd's Hill, London N6) on November 30 at Sri Ganapathy Temple, Wimbledon.*

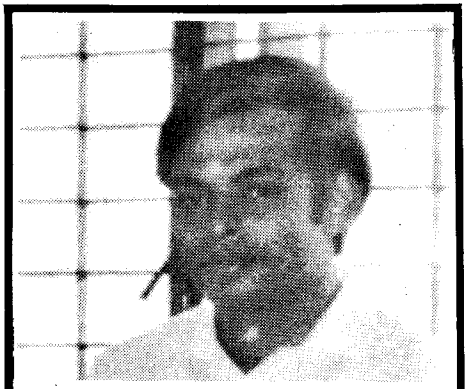
MOORTHY *(son of the late Vijayaratnam & Mrs Vijayaratnan) & RAJANI (daughter of Mr & Mrs S. Selvajayam) on December 5 in Darwin, Australia.*

SRI RANGANATHAN *(son of the late Mr & Mrs P. Vaithilingam) & VARATHAI (daughter of the late Mr S. Kulathungam and Mrs Kulathungam) on November 7 at Sri Murugan Temple, Archway, London N10.*

RAJAN *(son of Mr & Mrs A.J. Mariyanayagam, Vavuniya) & DHARSHANA (daughter of Mr & Mrs S. Thirunathan, 85 Glamorgan Close, Mitcham, Surrey) on December 5 at Sri Ganapathy Temple Wimbledon.*

SIVAKUMARAN *(son of Mr & Mrs Somasunderam, Kokuvil West, Sri Lanka) & RENUGA (daughter of Mr & Mrs N. Pathmarajah, 199 Epsom Road, Flemington, Melbourne 3031, Australia) on December 5 at Sri Murugan Temple, London.*

SANTHAKUMAR *(son of Mr & Mrs S. Pathmanandavel Gaborone, Botswana & PRAMALINI (Daughter of Mr & Mrs K. Thanga Raja, Francistown, Botswana) on December 12 at Thapama Lodge, Francistown, Botswana.*



MANOHARAN — Rajasingham Manoharan, former Manager of Aluminium Industries, Maviddapuram, beloved husband of Vasugi, loving father of Sarathanjali (2-half-years), Shanmugapriya (1 year), son of C. Rajasingham (Journalist) and the late Mrs. F.A. Rajasingham, brother of Dr. R. Narendran (Saudi Arabia), Easamanohary (Canada), Saraswathymanohari (London), Neelambari (Madras), Jayadevan (London), Gowrimanohari (Belfast), son-in-law of Mr. & Mrs. C. Rajadurai (Kilinochchi), murdered by the I.P.K.F. at Navatkuli on October 23.

OBITUARY

NESIAH, PUSHPAMANY beloved wife of K. Nesiah and mother of Devanesan, Pushpadevi, Nirmala and Lanka passed away peacefully on 14 November in her 76th year. 20 Canon Somasunderam Avenue, Chundikuli, Jaffna.

AMARASINGHAM, SAROJINI beloved wife of C. Amarasingham, mother of Selvaranee, Anton, Mano (UK), Gnanar, Evelyn and Vasantha and Mother-in Law of Selvarajah, Janaki, Priya, Mathanarajah and Trevor expired peacefully in Colombo on 8 November. 73/24 Sri Saranankara Road, Dehiwela, Sri Lanka.

RASAMAH MYLVAGANAM, wife of the late A.J. Mylvaganam mother of J.M. Rajaratnam, (U.S.A.), Rasamany Thevarajah (Canada), Paramananthan, Karunananthan (Brunei), Dr. Sathananthan (Sri Lanka) and Rajeswaran (U.K.) died on 28.11.87. 109 Wildwood Avenue, Upper Montclair, N.J. 07043, U.S.A.

CANON VICTOR SATHIANATHAN, husband of Ranee (Nee Paul), father of Sneha Appathurai and brother of the late Athisayam Arulanantham died in Colombo. 13 College Avenue, Mount Lavinia.

FLORENCE ARIYAMALAR RAJASINGHAM, beloved wife of C. Rajasingham (Journalist), mother of Dr. Narendran (Saudi Arabia), Easamanohary Thevathasan (Canada), the late Manoharan, Saraswathymanohary Rajendran (London), Neelambari Navaratnaraj (Madras), Jayadevan (London), and Gowrimanohari Surendrakumar (Belfast), Sister of Rev (Dr) D.J. Kanagaratnam (Vavuniya) and Mrs. S. Nadeswaran (Chavakachcheri).

Died under tragic circumstances 16th October. Mortal remains cremated at her residence in Navatkuli 23rd October. 65 Fairway Avenue, London, NW9.

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